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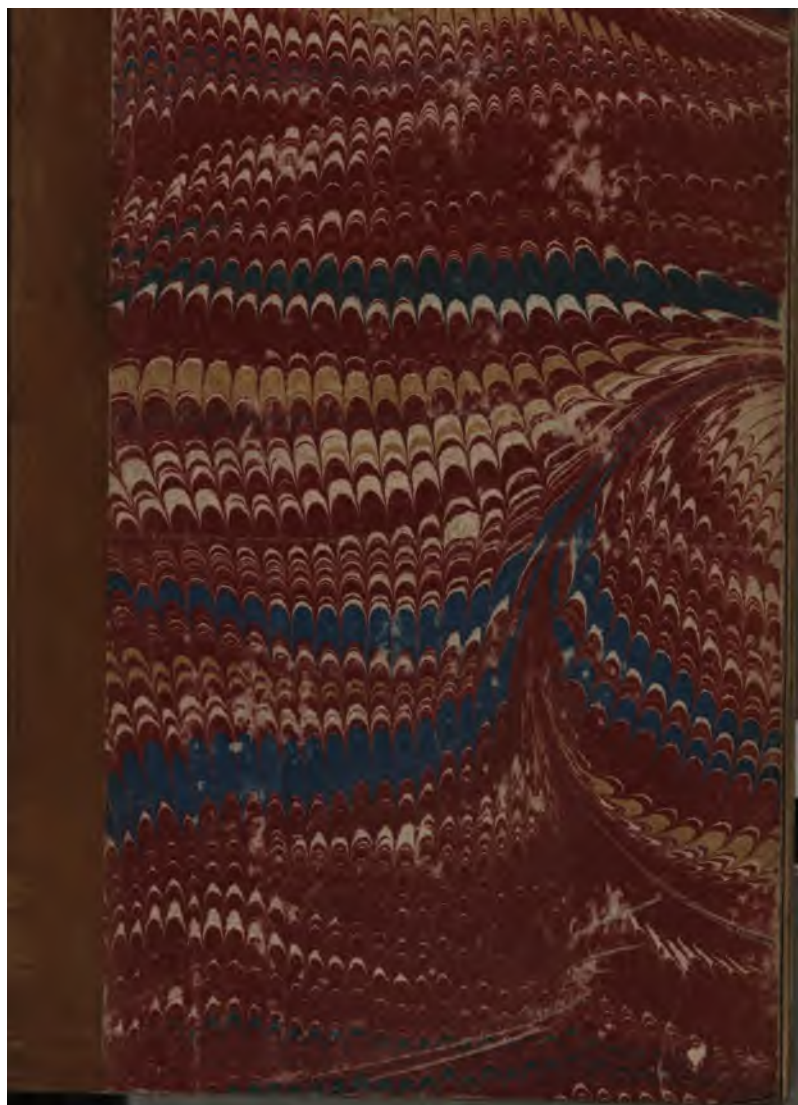
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AN
HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
OF 1848;

FROM THE REFORM BANQUETS
TO THE ELECTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC.



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HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
OF 1848.

SECTION I.

RETROSPECTIVE AND INTRODUCTORY.

Suddenness of the Explosion.—The “*Charivari*.”—State of French Parties.—Duration of Guizot’s Ministry.—The Army, National Guard, &c.—Accelerating Causes of the Revolution.—*Carbonari*.—Prosecutions of the Press.—Fortifications.—Increase of Expenditure.—Taxation.—Corruption.—Spanish Marriages.—Government of Algeria.—Electoral Reform.—Reform Banquets.—Opening of the Chambers.—The King’s Speech.—The Address.—Conduct of the Opposition.

THE French Revolution of 1848, the most sudden in its explosion, the most rapid in its progress and termination—at least so far as the extinction of the Orleans dynasty is concerned—of any revolution upon record, has been, and continues to be, the astonishment of Europe. It took every body by surprise ; not only in England, not only all over the continent, but even in France. Yet it came not altogether unexpectedly : its advent had been confidently predicted ; its arrival was, by many, regarded as a certainty. The volcanic elements of revolution had long been seething ; but the outburst was not looked for so early, so instantaneously. It was accelerated by fortuitous events. The rapidity of its consummation is forcibly, though too ludicrously pictured, considering the gravity of the subject,

in the following passage from the *Charivari*, a French periodical ranking with the English *Punch* :—"In 1793, the first King that was dethroned inspired uneasiness, and he was guillotined. In 1830, the second King whom the people deposed was escorted to the sea-side, and a strict watch kept over him until he had set sail from the shores of *la belle France*. In 1848, the people treat the ex-King with sublime disdain—they give themselves no trouble whatever concerning him. The King goes whithersoever he will ; no one looks after him, no pains are even taken to ascertain if he does go or not. A few days afterwards some report that he is dead, and the reply is 'Ha !' Others affirm that the poor devil is very well, and the reply is still 'Ha !' No one cares to be assured whether he be dead or alive. As little uneasiness is felt as though he had never been in existence. Is it possible to suppress a King and a whole dynasty more completely, or with greater generosity ? Let us trace the steps of the declining scale :—The movement of 1789 lasted three years. That which resulted in the Restoration lasted three months. The Revolution of 1830 lasted three days. The Revolution of 1848 lasted three hours."

The above must be received, *cum grano salis*. It is true that the extinction of the Orleans dynasty was consummated in *three hours* of Thursday, the 24th of February ; but from its commencement to the Proclamation of a Provisional Government, the Revolution was *three entire days* in progress ; and from the night of Monday, the 21st of February, till the restoration of something like public order and tranquillity, not less than a week was occupied. And, *the end is not yet*.

Preparatory to our proposed narrative of the main events of the French Revolution of 1848, a few words are necessary respecting the state of parties, and of public feeling in the country. The ancient leaven of republicanism, never wholly destroyed since the great outbreak of 1789, had sufficed to keep the masses, from time to time, more or less in a state of fermentation. With the Revolution of 1830, which placed Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, on the throne of France, the republican party was not satisfied. Yet that revolution had been effected through an organized conspiracy of republicans, which had been some time in existence, aided, as it is understood, by certain discontented

portions of the middle classes, who were indignant at what they regarded as the despotic policy of government on the Restoration of Louis XVIII. But the Revolution of 1830 did not go sufficiently far to meet the views of the disaffected; a reaction, in consequence, commenced; and that reaction, having continued to increase in power, has resulted in the Revolution of 1848—or a Consummation of what was originally designed to be achieved by the Revolution of 1830.

Now, for the state of parties in France, as they may be considered to have stood in the year 1847. These parties, amongst the people, and in the Chamber of Deputies, were not fewer than five in number. First, there was the conservative or Government party, with Louis Philippe at its head, and M. Guizot for his prime minister. Guizot's ministry had existed nearly eight years—a term of longer duration than any since the first Revolution of 1789. And this party had a majority—fair, but not large—in the Chamber, over all the other parties, even when united. Then there was the Constitutional or Dynastic Opposition party, friendly to the dynasty of Louis Philippe, but opposed to his ministers; that is, they were *Outs*, and they wanted to be *Ins*. The ex-minister, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot were at the head of this section. The third and smallest of the parties was that of the Legitimists, or supporters of the old dynasty, with M. Berryer for its chief. The fourth, or Old Republican party, less formidable in numbers than in discipline, activity, and intelligence, consisted chiefly of the grandsons of the ancient Jacobins, half-pay officers, journalists, lawyers, students, clerks, &c. In the Chamber, its most distinguished members were Dupont, a lawyer of the time of the first Revolution; Arago, the *savant*; and Garnier-Pagès. The leading views of these gentlemen were carried out in the *National* newspaper by Marrast and his colleagues. Then, composing the fifth party, was the sect of Communists, resembling, in principles and objects, the English Socialists, with visionary notions of community or equalization of property. The Old Republicans and the Communists—the latter consisting exclusively of the working classes—were at all times ready to unite in any attempt to subvert the existing order of things.

Additional light is thrown upon the state of the republican party by the subjoined extract from one of the letters

dated April 17, 1848, of the Paris correspondent of the *Literary Gazette*.—"Before the Revolution of February, the republican or radical party in France was divided in two factions; clearly defined and represented by two papers, the *National* and the *Réforme*. One faction, that of the *National*, more numerous than the other, comprised all honest, intelligent, and moderate republicans; the other represented by the *Réforme*, was recruited amongst fanatic radicals, poor in mental resources, and not over nice. M. Armand Marrast headed the first party; the second had for its chief director, or rather for paymaster, M. Ledru Rollin; and for sub-director, aspiring to supplant his chief, M. Louis Blanc. The first would have remained satisfied with Reform—the latter exacted more than a Revolution, they wanted a thorough social reconstruction."

Besides the parties just enumerated and described, there were four important points for consideration—the Army, the National Guard, the Ministry, and the King. In Paris, there was also the Municipal Guard. The Army, of whom there were probably about 40,000 in Paris and its environs, were believed to be sound and loyal, though without any enthusiastic devotion towards Louis Philippe. They were well disciplined, and obedient. The National Guard, about 60,000 men, were differently constituted. Many of these citizen soldiers had become lukewarm in their attachment to the throne which they had mainly contributed to raise—some were jealous of the regular army, and of the increased power of the government through that army, and through the fortifications of Paris—others, to the number of probably 20,000, or one-third of the whole, were, directly or indirectly, attached to the republicans and to the communists—to the latter, in fact, in a much larger proportion than to the former. The ministry, with Guizot at its head, and of between seven and eight years' standing, appeared to be in a safe if not a powerful position; though, it must be allowed, certain recent circumstances, to be noticed hereafter, had given unmistakeable indications of duplicity, corruption, and dishonour. Guizot, though pure in his own views, appears to have allowed himself to become the tool of one who was disposed to enact the part of minister as well as of Sovereign. As for Louis Philippe, his aims at family aggrandisement, without reference to the advantage, honour, or glory of his country, appear to have placed him

in a false position with the public—with those portions of the public especially which were opposed not merely to despotism but to monarchy itself, and all its noblest attributes.

It now becomes desirable to see what were the accelerating causes, mediate and immediate, of the Revolution of 1848. Those causes were neither few nor slight. Yet none—not even the most enthusiastic of the revolutionists—calculated upon so early, so sudden an explosion. The great event was precipitated by unforeseen impulses.

1. Previously to the Revolution of 1830, there is known to have been a secret but regularly organized society of republicans, in Paris, designated the Carbonari. This body, in number about 60,000, had its committees constantly sitting. It is said—but the *data* seem wanting to establish the fact—that, by a lavish expenditure of money, Louis Philippe, then Duc d'Orleans, contrived to gain admission for many of his partizans into this society. The result of this was, a breach of union, if not a virtual preponderance in favour of monarchy, in the governing council of the Carbonari. Disgusted by the conduct of Louis XVIII., and yet more highly indignant at the notorious ordonnances of Charles X., the feelings of the middle classes were in array against the elder branch of the Bourbons, though not against monarchy in the abstract. The fact is, the spirit of the French people—*people*, as contradistinguished from the *mob*, is essentially monarchical. However, the republicans, with the majority of the working classes, came in collision with the middle classes: they struggled, and fought; but the middle were victorious, and Louis Philippe was raised to the throne. To the implacable spirit of the republican faction, which, though vanquished, was not exterminated, may be ascribed much of the enduring hatred which it has displayed against the *bourgeoisie*, during the progress of the Revolution of 1848. Unforgetting and unforgiving, vindictive to an excess, these men, unsleeping at their posts, have ever been ready to avail themselves of any opportunity that might offer for the vengeance and triumph of their faction. They cannot be regarded otherwise than as the prime movers in the downfall of Louis Philippe.

2. The government of the King and his ministers, especially detested by the republicans, was far from proving satisfactory to the nation at large. Louis Philippe's numerous

and severe prosecutions of the press* came with an ill grace from the man who was said to have lavished immense sums in the pay of party writers—from the man who, moreover, had asserted, when he came to the throne, that the press should ever after be free.

3. The citizen portion of the population of Paris appear to have continued their confidence in Louis Philippe; but, to the republicans, his standing army of 400,000 men, and the military fortifications with which, at an enormous expense, he had encircled the city, were subjects of sore annoyance; the more so, as the fortifications, in particular, were regarded, and justly, as calculated rather to overawe the people—even to destroy them and their dwellings, should such a measure be deemed requisite by the government—than to serve as a protection against the assault of a foreign invader.

4. The erection of the fortifications of Paris, the payment of so large a standing army, the war in Africa—where the French have no more right than in the realms of the moon—and a variety of other circumstances, rendered necessary, or at least caused, an immense annual increase in the expenditure of the government. This is lucidly shown in a contemporary publication, (*KELLY'S Narrative of the French Revolution of 1848*), in substance as follows. The war expenses of France, under the imperial government of Buonaparte, averaged about 330,000,000 of francs annually. In 1813, when the entire French army was reorganized, after the disastrously memorable campaign against Russia, the total expenditure was 420,000,000 of francs: under Louis Philippe, the expenses of the Ministry of War averaged 480,000,000 of francs. Under Napoleon, the expenses of the Ministry for the Interior, including the public works, agriculture, commerce, &c., was 15,000,000 of francs: in 1847, the expenditure of the same department was 70,000,000 of francs. Under the imperial régime, the entire expenditure of the government, for all public services, excepting those of the army and navy, was 300,000,000 francs yearly: during the last seventeen years, the duration of Louis Philippe's reign, the annual cost, for the same services, amounted to

* *Vide* BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF LOUIS PHILIPPE THE FIRST, KING OF THE FRENCH, (No 36 of *The New Library of Useful Knowledge*), page 60.

200,000,000. On the 1st of January, 1841, the public debt (deducting the sinking fund) was 4,267,315,402 francs: on the 1st of January, 1848, it amounted to 5,179,644,730 francs. In 1830, the budget amounted to 1,014,914,000 francs: for 1847 it was settled at 1,712,979,639 francs. Notwithstanding a successive yearly increase of receipts, the budget displayed a considerable annual deficit. From 1840 to 1847, the expenditure exceeded the income by 604,525,000 francs; equal to an addition of £24,000,000 sterling to the national debt in the period of seven years. The ex-government, during the last 268 days of its existence, expended £44,000 *per diem* beyond the amount of its ordinary resources.

5. An increase of government expenditure inevitably leads to an increase of taxation. The entire taxation of France has been stated at upwards of 1,080,000,000 francs. Most of this fell heavily on the poorer classes and the shopkeepers. "The 750,000,000 francs produced by the excise, the tax on salt, the customs, and the stamp duty, fell almost entirely on these classes; which, moreover, participated in a due proportion in the payment of the other taxes." The total amount of taxes paid by the ruling or governing class—the 240,000 electors, jurymen, &c.—never exceeded 54,000,000 francs, or less than one-twentieth part of the entire taxation of the country.

6. The corruption of the government, with its host of placemen and expectants, originated yet more discontent. In 1847, the number of persons employed in the civil offices of government, in France, was 628,000, or nearly thrice the number of electors, at an expense of £10,000,000 sterling annually; while in England, at the same time, and with about 1,000,000 of electors, the persons so employed were only about 25,000, at a yearly expense of not more than £3,000,000 sterling. The recent detection of two ex-cabinet ministers, M. Teste and General Cubières, with several subordinate public servants, had also materially damaged the government of Louis Philippe in the estimation of the public.

7. "The affair of the Spanish marriages," observes a writer in the Quarterly Review—"however we may think this country entitled to complain of them—certainly did M. Guizot no harm in France; it proved that at least he was not a tool of England, and, as far as it looked like a triumph over British policy, would have added to instead

of diminishing his popularity." Whatever might be the effect as regarded M. Guizot personally, this "affair" excited the disgust and indignation of every right-minded man, not only in England but in France, and throughout the civilized world. The barbarian cruelty with which a man—hated and despised by the poor victim—was forced into the arms of the young Queen of Spain, through the intrigues of Louis Philippe and her profligate mother, was infamous. Perhaps this is the foulest blot on the moral as well as on the political character of Louis Philippe.

8. In a military light, Louis Philippe was guilty of two grievous, if not fatal errors. The first was the appointment of his son, the Duc d'Aumale, as Governor-General of Algeria, the second was his well-known intention to appoint another of his sons—the Duc de Montpensier—Grand Master of the Artillery. Had these two young men seen any service, the case would have been different. It has been remarked, that the appointment of the Duc d'Aumale Governor-General of Algeria, at the age of twenty-five, was the finishing stroke to the headstrong policy of the French cabinet—"a command not only requiring talents of the first practical order, but one looked forward to by the officers serving there, as a prescriptive sort of succession."

9. Parliamentary or electoral reform had long been a subject of warm and angry contention. Certainly the number of electors throughout France—240,000—was small in proportion to a population of 34 or 36 millions; and it might have been desirable to take into consideration the practicability of some salutary modification. But, it must be remembered, the elective franchise was based on the grand principle of taxation as evidence of property. Whoever contributed to the amount of 200 francs, or £8, annually in imposts corresponding with our land-tax, house-tax, and licences and stamps for trades and professions, was an elector. Moreover, to favour intellectual pursuits and "capacities," as they were termed, half-pay officers, members of learned institutions, professional men, &c., were admitted to the electoral privilege, on contributing half the amount, or £4 per annum, in taxation. Considering the lowness of the qualification required, it is surprising that the number of electors should have been so small. Was it not an indication of great poverty amongst the masses? "The proposed reform," observes a popular writer of the day—"which

pretended that it would not have disturbed the old system, but only extended it—would have in fact extinguished it in principle, and overpowered it by numbers ; for instance, it proposed to admit to the franchise all that were liable to serve upon juries without any regard to property or taxation : that was an entire abrogation of the fundamental principle of the constitution ; but it was rendered infinitely worse by another principle which accompanied it—namely, that all officers of the National Guard should also be electors without regard to property or taxation. As these officers are annually *elected by the corps at large*, this would have been calling the armed force directly, and *as such*, into the elections, and perverting the National Guard into a political faction, and eventually into the prætorian guards of any Danton or Napoleon, demagogue or despot, who might obtain an influence over them. It was estimated that these measures would have increased the number of electors fourfold, and the additional 700,000 need not necessarily have any qualification, from either taxation or property.” However, in the session of 1847 the King, Ministry, and Chambers rejected the proposition of the reformers. Such was considered to be the influence of government in the elections, that of 450 odd members, constituting the Chamber of Deputies, 204 were placemen, whose votes were absolutely at the disposal of ministers.

10. To promote the views of the reformers, during the winter of 1847, “Reform Banquets,” to the number of 63, were held in the different provinces of France. Some of these meetings were of a simply dynastic character ; others were, in the phraseology of modern politics, more “liberal ;” and some were decidedly democratic. But the *Débats*, the organ of Guizot’s administration, stigmatized all who attended these Banquets as *Sans Culottes, Montagnards, and Terrorists*. On the other hand, these assemblages and their objects were defended by Thiers’s paper, the *Constitutionnel*—by Odillon Barrot’s, the *Siccle*—by Ledru Rollin’s, the *Réforme*—and by Marrast’s, the *National*. One point is very remarkable : at all these Reform Banquets, “the King’s Health,” as a toast, was studiously avoided.

11. At length, on the 28th of December, 1847, the Parliamentary Session was opened by Louis Philippe in person. Every thing seems to have gone on as usual, excepting that while, on his entrance, the King was received with exclamations of *Vive le Roi !* from the Peers and the Conservative

party, the leading members of the Opposition remained sullenly silent. His majesty's opening Speech was of considerable length, but, with the exception of one passage, not of distinguishing importance. The commencement of the following sentence gave great offence to all but the immediate supporters of Louis Philippe and his ministers:—*"Amidst the agitation that hostility and blind passions foment, one conviction animates and supports me, which is this, that we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the great powers of the State, sure means of overcoming all those obstacles, and of satisfying all interests, moral and material."*

12. The debate on the Address, in reply to the Speech from the throne, was protracted through no fewer than nineteen sittings; the ministers declaring their intention to prohibit the "Monster Reform Banquet" of the twelfth arrondissement, which had been announced to take place in Paris; and the Opposition members affirming their determination to attend it notwithstanding. Each party appealed to the law in justification of its right.—At length, on Saturday, the 12th of February, the several paragraphs of the Address having been voted, a division took place on the whole collectively. The Opposition in a body declined voting; consequently, of 244 votes given there were 241 in favour of ministers. On the following day, the Opposition members assembled, and came to a resolution, *nem. con.*, that they would all attend the proposed Banquet; and that no member of their party, even if drawn by lot to present the Address to the King, should participate in the ceremony.

SECTION II.

THE REFORM BANQUETS.

Banquets in the Provinces.—Proffered Conciliation.—Announce of the Intended Paris Banquet.—Military Preparations for France.—Pacific Negotiation.—Dissatisfaction of the Reform Prohibition of the Procession.—Abandonment of the Banquet.—More Military Demonstrations.

It would be useless to dwell upon the Reform Banquets *they were* carried out in the provinces: with slight

fications, their characters, features, and objects were the same. In some instances, however, the demonstrations were more decidedly republican and violent than in others. The Government appeared to vacillate—it evinced a disposition to soothe rather than to irritate. “The question of parliamentary reform,” observed the *Journal des Débats*, the organ of Ministers, “will be discussed in all its bearings during the present parliament. Not only will it be solved, but the solution will be what is already known. It will be in accordance with what has prevailed in the discussion of the Address, and which appears to be decidedly that of the Conservative majority. Reform will be accomplished then, or, at least, there is every chance of its being so, for it depends no longer upon the ministry, but upon Providence alone. With this single reservation, we no longer doubt of the result—we can answer for it. Thus this great question is decided in principle, and it only remains to be decided by a parliamentary vote. Henceforth there are no more grounds for debate—no more pretences for the violence which has afflicted the country—no more pretences for that agitation which has formed for us so sad a spectacle. Therefore, let there be an end to agitation, with all its dangerous evils. Let all good citizens, both in and out of the Chambers, be reconciled, and let the whole country resume its calm confidence!”

This did not satisfy the reformers. The parliament had yet five years to run; and they had no faith in its being the intention of Government to discuss the question during the present session. The Reform Banquets had originated with the parliamentary opposition, at the head of which was M. Odillon Barrot, in the Chamber of Deputies. The Monster Banquet, for the twelfth arrondissement, was announced to be held in Paris on Sunday the 20th of February. This was intended to be a great out-of-doors demonstration of force and numbers. Barrot and his committee, who had invariably insisted that such meetings were legal, pledged themselves to march at the head of the procession. The Opposition deputies expressed their determination to present themselves in a body; and such of the National Guards as favoured the cause were also to attend, but with side-arms only. On the other hand, it was understood that Government had resolved to prevent the banquet. And, for this, they had ample means at command. The reform-

ers, though united in purpose, hesitated, and a compromise was expected. A feeling was abroad, that the Government would content itself with making a formal protest against the meeting, accompanied by an intimation that legal proceedings would be taken in the event of their refusing to disperse. Government, however, proved obdurate—prepared for resistance—secretly appointed Marshal Bugeaud commander of Paris—and directed the Duc de Montpensier to send artillery and ammunition, sufficient for any exigency that might arise, from Vincennes. Speedily there were, in the Military School, in the Champs de Mars, and capable of being promptly transported to any point of the capital, five batteries of field artillery, with howitzers, and an abundant supply of shells, rockets, shot, muskets, cartridges, &c. About eight infantry regiments, all reinforced, and averaging 2500 bayonets each, were in the different barracks of the metropolis. In addition to these—to a cavalry force of 900 men—and to the Municipal Guards, horse and foot—all the other military stations of Paris were fully manned, and the soldiers kept within doors, ready to act on a moment's notice. Five regiments, too, had just been added to the previously strong garrison of Paris; and at Versailles, Fontainebleau, Compiègne, Rambouillet, St. Germain, Beauvais, Melun, Meaux, and other places, there were whole regiments of both cavalry and infantry in quarters, and ready to proceed to the capital, which might be reached in from one hour to six hours by the entire force. Still the preparations for the banquet went on. At length, the committee "opened a communication with the Government—professed their wish for order—stated of course that they believed the meeting to be legal—but that, as the Government thought otherwise, they would give up the procession, and only hold the banquet *pro formâ*, for which the Government might commence a prosecution to carry the question to a legal tribunal, with whose decision all parties might honourably abide." To this proposition the Government at once assented, and the banquet, which had been originally announced for Sunday the 20th, was by this new arrangement postponed to Tuesday the 22nd."

It appears, however, that the committee, in which the republican party had now the ascendancy, were dissatisfied with the compromise which had been made; and they accordingly issued, late on the Sunday evening, a notice,

said to have been written by Marrast, the editor of the *National*, for a *procession* as well as a *banquet* on the Tuesday, with the addition of inviting the students of the public schools and the National Guard to take an active part in the proceedings.

On the morning of Monday, the 21st, Government, determined to resist this measure, published an absolute prohibition of the *procession*—not of the *banquet*—and forbade the National Guard from appearing in uniform, except by order of their own officers. The following proclamation exhibits the feeling of Government on the occasion :—

“ Parisians,—The Government had interdicted the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement. It was within its right in doing this, being authorized by the letter and spirit of the law. Nevertheless, in consequence of the discussion which took place in the Chamber on this subject, thinking that the Opposition was acting with good faith, it resolved to afford it an opportunity for submitting the question of the legality of banquets to the appreciation of the tribunals and the High Court of Cassation. To do this, it had resolved to authorize for to-morrow the entrance into the banquet-room, hoping that the persons present at the manifestation would have the wisdom to retire at the first summons. But, after the manifesto published this morning, calling the public to a manifestation, convoking the National Guards, and assigning them a place ranked by the legions, and ranging them in line, a government is raised in opposition to the real Government, usurps the public power, and openly violates the Charter. These are acts which the Government cannot tolerate. In consequence, the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement will not take place. Parisians ! remain deaf to every excitement to disorder. Do not, by tumultuous assemblages, afford grounds for a repression which the Government would deplore.”

On Monday night, the committee issued a notice altogether abandoning the banquet ; M. Odillon Barrot at the same time pledging himself to the impeachment of Ministers.

During the night of Monday, artillery caissons and military waggons, under escorts of cavalry, were continually passing along the line of Boulevards which connect Vincennes with the quarter of the Tuileries and the Palais Bourbon. Orders had been given for the concentration of

troops around the Chamber of Deputies on the following morning. Besides their usual arms, each company of infantry carried a collection of tools and implements, such as pickaxes, hatchets, adzes, &c., for the purpose of breaking down barricades, and removing whatever obstructions might have been thrown in the way. The garrison of Paris was at this time 100,000 strong.

SECTION III.

THE FIRST OF THE THREE DAYS.

Morning Movements.—Defensive Preparations of Government.—Counteractions.—Demonstrations against the Minister's Residence.—Assault on the Chamber of Deputies.—Repulse.—Barricades and Skirmishes.—Impeachment of Ministers.—Adjournment of the Chamber.—Military Dispositions for the Night.—Unpopularity of Guizot.

At an early hour on the morning of Tuesday, the 22nd of February—the first of the memorable “Three Days”—all Paris was on the *qui vive*, hurrying through the streets, and inquiring the news. Good humour, however, seemed the general order of the day, and a pleasant excitable holiday was anticipated rather than any proceeding of a serious character. The Government, apparently uncertain as to the precise movements that any or all the different parties concerned in the agitation might make, had made divers preparations for maintaining the public peace. In addition to duly stationing the troops of the line and the Municipal Guard, or police, the *rappel* or summons of the National Guard was beaten in the Quartier St. Honoré. The majority of the National Guard—though on them Louis Philippe had placed the firmest reliance—were known to be apathetic in the cause, if not absolutely disaffected. With a view of increasing their reluctance to come forward, the insurgents caused the drummers to be preceded and followed by some hundreds of young men in blouses, armed with long sticks, shouting *Vive la Réforme!* and chorusing all the revolutionary

songs. The consequence was, that, with the exception of those who favoured the agitators, very few of the National Guards made their appearance. About ten o'clock a motley crowd of students and other mischievous idlers started from the Place du Panthéon, and proceeded arm-in-arm and three abreast through the principal streets leading to the Place de la Madeleine. There, and during their progress, they continued to amuse themselves and the spectators by shouting forth a succession of republican airs. The republican and communist leaders were now bringing forward their forces, and considerable agitation prevailed in the chief thoroughfares. A little after eleven, a dense crowd had congregated in the upper part of the Rue Royale, and, as numbers continued to pour in, a movement in one direction or another became inevitable. There were large bodies of men, each with a row of unarmed National Guards in front, on whom they knew that the troops could not fire. Seeking a more open space, some of these heterogeneous columns came down the Boulevard and made hostile demonstrations against the official residence of M. Guizot, at the corner of the Boulevard and the Rue des Capucines. Throughout the day, the residence of the Minister formed a grand object of attraction to the mob; and, as often as they were repulsed, they returned to shout *Vive la Réforme. A bas Guizot, l'Homme de Gand!*

Other columns moved down the Rue Royale, and gained the Place de la Concorde. Before them, on the opposite side of the river, stood the Chamber of Deputies. "There (observes a writer in the *United Service Magazine*, an eyewitness of the entire proceedings) were the Ministers. There were the friends, there the enemies of reform. The opportunity was inviting. In a few minutes the Pont de la Concorde was traversed. The mob stood before the Chamber. One vigorous rush was made, and down went a part of the railings that surrounded it. The door was forced open, and a few of the foremost penetrated to the very tribunes of the public. The success was but momentary. General Sebastiani speedily arrived at the head of a battalion of the 69th Regiment of the Line, and a detachment of the 6th Dragoons, and charging the mob drove them back into the Place de la Concorde. A few stones were then thrown at the soldiery, but without inflicting much injury, and in return the cavalry made several charges sword in hand.

During this time the Deputies were gravely deliberating on the Bourdeaux Bank Bill!!! Surrounded by these elements of strife and discord, they exhibited as much prosiness and phlegm as an English House of Commons on a motion by some oft-tried bore."

In the course of the day various other hostile demonstrations were made in different parts of the town. In the leading thoroughfares, most of the shops were closed. In the Rue St. Honoré, the Rue de Rivoli, and adjacent streets, three or four attempts were made to raise barricades; and the shops of gun-smiths, sword-cutlers, &c., were broken open and plundered. Later in the day, the pavements of the street were torn up; and, by the seizure of omnibuses, cabs, and whatever suitable material came in the way, the mob succeeded in the erection of barricades at various points. Many skirmishes took place between the military and the insurgents, the former invariably conducting themselves with the most praiseworthy forbearance and humanity.

About three o'clock, M. Odillon Barrot, accompanied by Messrs. Duvergier d'Hauranne, Thiers, Garnier Pagès, Marie, &c., proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies, to prefer the motion to which Barrot had pledged himself for the impeachment of Ministers. M. Guizot, pale and gloomy in aspect, but with an air of stern defiance and determination, had previously entered. M. de Hauranne handed a paper to the President. This was conjectured to be the proposition for impeachment. Guizot, on receiving it from the President, and having given it perusal, is said to have "laughed immoderately." Messrs. Lamartine, Dupin, Crémieux, Billault, and the Minister of the Interior and Justice, next arrived. The discussion on the Bourdeaux Bank Bill continued. At half past four, the President arose, and was about to retire, when Odillon called his attention to the fact, that a proposition had been delivered, and requested that it might be read. The President, however, refused to read it till it had been examined by the Bureaux and reported. It should be brought up on Thursday next.

The following is a transcript of the proposition for the impeachment of Ministers at the bar of the Chamber:—

"We propose to place the Ministers in accusation as guilty—1. Of having betrayed abroad the honour and the interests of France. 2. Of having falsified the principles of

the constitution, violated the guarantees of liberty, and attacked the rights of the people. 3. Of having, by a systematic corruption, attempted to substitute, for the free expression of public opinion, the calculation of private interest, and thus perverted the representative government. 4. Of having trafficked for ministerial purposes in public offices, as well as in all the prerogatives and privileges of power. 5. For having, in the same interest, wasted the finances of the state, and thus compromised the forces and the grandeur of the kingdom. 6. Of having violently despoiled the citizens of a right inherent to every free constitution, and the exercise of which had been guaranteed to them by the Charter, by the laws, and by former precedents. 7. Of having, in fine, by a policy overtly counter-revolutionary, placed in question all the conquests of our two revolutions, and thrown the country into a profound agitation."

This paper bore the signatures of Odillon Barrot, Dupont de l' Eure, Garnier Pagès, Courtais, Thiard, Crémieux, Marie, Carnot, and forty-five others.

M. Genoude then made the following proposition in his own name :—

"Whereas the Minister, by his refusal to present a project of law for electoral reform, has occasioned troubles, I propose to put in accusation the President of the Council and his colleagues."

After some warm discussion on the latter subject, the Chamber broke up in a tumult, at five o'clock, and adjourned till one on the following day.

As yet the insurgents were unarmed ; and, excepting a mischievous and destructive riot, no very serious apprehensions were entertained regarding the issue of the day's proceedings. There was even a slight advance in the funds. Yet the skirmishing continued until a late hour in the Faubourg St. Antoine ; and, according to some statements, the number of killed and wounded was considerable, and 200 prisoners were said to have been captured. By midnight, however, most of the barricades that had been erected during the day were thrown down, and, throughout the night, Paris was in full possession of the troops. The approaches to the Tuileries were well guarded. Along the Rue de Rivoli, skirting the gardens of the palace, along the quay and on the Place de la Concorde and the

Place du Carrousel, the troops of the line were bivouacked by large camp fires. Louis Philippe, accompanied by the Duc de Nemours and the Duc de Montpensier, had previously passed the military in review, and been loudly cheered by the National Guards as well as by the troops of the line. Notwithstanding this, the feeling throughout Paris was furiously expressed against the minister: the prevailing cries were—*A bas Guizot ! La tête de Guizot ! A vingt-cinq francs la tête de Guizot, &c.*

SECTION IV.

THE SECOND OF THE THREE DAYS.

Barricades and their Statistics.—Fatal Skirmishes.—*Gamins de Paris*.—Striking Incidents.—Fraternization.—Declaration of the National Guard for Reform.—Guizot's Resignation.—Molé's Mission.—Scene in the Chamber.—Cessation of Firing.—Vociferous Assemblages.—General Illumination.—The Great Horror.—Cries for Vengeance.—Procession of the Dead.—Determined Preparations of the Night.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 23rd of February—a day destined to witness one of the most horrible events of the Revolution—it was evident that the republican party had gained strength. By nine o'clock, barricades had been thrown up across the Rue de Cléry, the Rue N. St. Eustache, the Rue Poissonnière, and the Rue du Petit-Carreau, and a considerable crowd gathered behind them, but very few carried fire-arms. With reference to the barricades—huge assemblages of paving stones, omnibuses, carts, cabriolets, lamp-posts, household furniture, &c.—it may somewhat enlighten the reader, as regards the mode of warfare, offensive and defensive, resorted to by the French populace in their *émeutes*, to record, upon the authority of the *Constitutionnel*, that, during the days of the 23rd and 24th of February, no fewer than 1512 barricades were erected in Paris. Some accounts carry up the number to 2000. Taking the statement, however, of the *Constitutionnel*, each barricade required on an average 845 paving stones, so that the people in a few hours must have torn up 1,277,640 paving stones.

There were also 4013 trees felled, some of them very large; 3704 lamp-posts broken down, and between 3000 and 4000 lamps destroyed; and 53 guard-houses, and about 600 watch-boxes and small wooden station-houses, were burnt or torn down. In this calculation no estimate is made of the iron railings which were torn down at the Bourse, and at many of the churches and other public buildings.

About half-past ten in the forenoon, "a strong picquet" of the foot Municipal Guard marched down the Rue de Clery, and, without (as it is said) the slightest provocation, fired upon the people, killing three on the spot, and wounding many more. At various points near the streets St. Denis and St. Martin fatal collisions took place between the people and the Municipal Guard, and in the Place du Caire a woman was unfortunately shot dead. The officer of a platoon of the National Guard, in duty at this post, was so indignant at this wanton act, that he shouted *Aux armes!* but, before his men could fall in, the aggressors had beaten a hasty retreat." It must, however, be borne in mind, that throughout the proceedings the Municipal Guard unflinchingly performed their duty to the State; whilst, on the other hand, the National Guards, with few exceptions, fraternized with the republicans, communists, and reformers; and even the regular troops—chiefly through the imbecile mismanagement of Ministers—were not invariably stanch.

In the Quartier du Temple, a barricade having been constructed at the corner of the Rue Vielle-du-Temple, a battalion of the line received orders to fire. The discharge was well directed, and several men fell. The troop then fell back on the Rue de l'Oseille, at the moment that a body of the National Guard, 200 strong, was marching out of the Rue de Poitou, shouting, to the full stretch of their lungs, *Vive la Réforme!* Imagining that an attack was meditated, the troops hastily fired, and killed two of their armed brethren.

A striking incident occurred in the Rue St. Martin. A company of foot soldiers having received orders to carry a barricade by storm, a mere child—one of the *gamins de Paris*, as they are termed—immediately scrambled up to the top, and, wrapping himself in a red flag, knelt down, and cried, with a firm voice, "Fire, if you like!" In its effect the example was electrical. The insurgents hastened forth from behind the barricade, and, "presenting their breasts to the soldiery, exclaimed—'Fire on your unarmed fellow citizens,

if you dare !' The troops instantly recovered arms, and refused to fire on their brethren." Their refusal was rewarded with prolonged cheers of *Vive la Ligne !*

There were other incidents of a similar character. "On the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, a young man was arrested, and conducted to a temporary guard-house in front of the Théâtre du Gymnase. His comrades gathered around, and demanded his liberty. They were threatened with death unless they chose to retire. 'As you please,' replied the young men ; 'do your duty, and we will do ours.' Suddenly closing in upon the guard, they disarmed them, liberated their comrade, and, discharging the muskets in the air, returned them to the soldiers. In the Rue de la Paix, a battalion of the Second Legion of the National Guard was marching down the street, crying *Vive la Réforme !* and followed by a numerous body of unarmed men, women, and children. A picquet of Cuirassiers came up, led by an officer of the Etat-Major, who gave orders to disperse the mob. His men seemed to hesitate for an instant, and then refused to act. Immediately the National Guard, the soldiers, and the people fraternized together, and interchanged many a hearty shake of the hands. The Third Legion had assembled on the Place des Petits-Pères, and cordially joined in the popular cry, *Vive la Réforme !* A squadron of Dragoons came up, and prepared to charge the mob. The National Guards intervened, and the cavalry wheeled about, and withdrew by the Rue des Bons-Enfants. They had scarcely retired when a detachment of the Municipal Guard arrived on the spot, and threatened to fire on the people. Again the National Guards interposed, and with fixed bayonets advanced upon them. In a few seconds neither Municipal Guards nor Dragoons were to be seen."

Other passages follow, illustrating the congeniality of feeling which subsisted between the National Guard and the populace. "Before the church of the Petits-Pères, about two in the afternoon, a troop of Cuirassiers was about to charge the crowd, when an officer of the Third Legion, sword in hand, stood between the soldiers and the people, and indignantly exclaimed—'Halt ! You pass not this way. We are stationed here to keep order, and, as long as we are here, you shall not advance. Move forward one step, and we will fire on you.' The troops wheeled about and retired. At another point, six grenadiers of the same legion barred

the road to a squadron of Cuirassiers, who were marching towards the Quartier Montmartre. This gallant act was fully appreciated, and, without waiting for orders, the cavalry hastily wheeled about. Between three and four o'clock, a detachment of the Fifth Legion, preceded by the Mayor of their arrondissement, entered the Boulevards between the Château d'Eau and the Théâtre de l'Ambigu. The pavement was lined with both Infantry and Cavalry, and no sooner had the National Guard passed, than the order was given to charge the mob who followed them. In an instant the last files of the guard had interposed, and with fixed bayonets prepared to receive the regular troops. A collision, however, was avoided by the energetic conduct of M. Artot, a grenadier of the Fifth Legion, remarkable for his stature, who hastened towards the officer in command, and with a loud voice, exclaimed—'You do wrong to charge peaceful citizens under the very eyes of their brethren, armed to protect public order and liberty. What is it we seek? What is it that the entire people demand? Electoral Reform, and the disgrace of an unpopular Minister; for we also raise the cry *Vive la Réforme!* and *A bas Guizot!*' Stammering out a few words of apology, the officer ordered his men to recover arms and fall back."—"The barracks of the Municipal Guard, situated in the Rue du Faubourg St. Martin, were suddenly attacked by the populace, and, before the soldiers could recover from their surprise, their arms were wrested from them. Some of the National Guard, having been informed of what was passing, hastily arrived on the spot, and persuaded the people to abandon the barracks, which they accordingly did, carrying off in triumph the banner of the vanquished Municipal Guard."

In the course of the forenoon a large division of the Third Legion of the National Guard had declared for Reform, in the Place des Petits-Pères. "The Municipal Guards, whose barracks adjoined the Church of the Petits-Pères, were ordered to disarm them. For this purpose they advanced to the charge with bayonets levelled; but the movement was imitated by the National Guard—their bayonets crossed—blood was on the point of being shed—when the Colonel of the National Guard exclaimed—'Hold! soldiers! these are the people; respect the people.' The effect these words produced was magical. The Municipal Guards raised

their bayonets, shouldered arms, and marched off." Nor was this the only result. The remainder of the Third Legion of the National Guards now almost to a man joined their comrades, and, by one o'clock, attained the number of 3000. Their officers, in council, next determined on a deputation to the king, to represent that his Majesty and the peace of the capital could be preserved only by a change of ministry. Simultaneously with this deputation, M. Rambuteau, Prefect of the Seine, waited upon the King to inform him that the Municipal Council had decided on demanding the resignation of his cabinet. In consequence, the King, at two o'clock, summoned a council of his Ministers, in which he announced his intention to send for M. Molé. On this, M. Guizot is reported to have made the observation, that "M. Molé was an able man, and had political connexions which might enable him to form a ministry." But Guizot is said to have further represented to the King, "that not a moment was to be lost—that though he (Guizot) considered himself no longer a Minister, *de facto*, he was ready to act *ad interim*, and to do all that might be necessary on his existing responsibility; but that a ministerial crisis was an additional danger which ought to be terminated as soon as possible." The result of this interview, which closed at three o'clock, was, that the King accepted the resignation of his cabinet, and sent for Messrs. Molé and Dupin to form a new one. In another hour, these events were communicated to the Commandant of Paris, and the news spread like wildfire through every street of the capital.

"Meanwhile, in the Chamber of Deputies," observes Percy St. John, in his "Three Days of February, 1848," "a dramatic scene was taking place." Mr. St. John proclaims himself "an eye-witness of the whole revolution." His opinions are frequently erroneous; his prejudices are strongly in opposition to Louis Philippe and his Ministers; but, so far as mere facts are concerned, his book is occasionally worth consulting. In the "dramatic scene" alluded to, "M. Vavin," he observes, "announced his intention of questioning Ministers as to the state of the capital. The aspect of the house was even more exciting than the day before. Rumours of fighting came every instant; at one time it was said the Chamber was invaded by the National Guard. Petitions in favour of electoral reform were pre-

sented by M. Crémieux. The sitting was momentarily suspended in the absence of Guizot, who presently entered, accompanied by Salvandy, Jayr, Dumon, Hebert, and Cunin Gridaine. M. Vavin rose, and demanded why the National Guard had not been called out in the first instance, and asserted that, had this been done, there would have been no collisions of any consequence. M. Guizot, who was now pale and agitated, refused to reply to the questions of M. Vavin, but announced that M. Molé was with the King, endeavouring to form an administration. At this point of his address the whole centre burst into loud exclamations, and appeared petrified with astonishment and grief; with many, the expression of countenance was visible, you saw the fear of losing place and office in every play of their muscles; in the tribunes there was a burst of applause, but on the opposition benches there was utter silence. Molé for Guizot was a mere comedy to trick the people, which every body saw through. It is incomprehensible, were not the whole conduct of Louis Philippe that of one bewildered by events, how the King could have supposed that this would satisfy the people. The Opposition were, of course, as hostile as ever, and the Molé cabinet would, in fact, have been a mere stop-gap, while the excitement lasted. In fact, it was notorious in the palace, and I say this deliberately, that Louis Philippe, the moment the *émeute* was over, and Bugeaud was fairly at the head of the troops and the National Guard, would have recalled Guizot. The King was not to be trusted.—No sooner was Guizot silent, than the sitting was suspended; many of the Conservatives rushed towards Guizot and questioned him, some angrily, some with regret. An effort was then made to withdraw the accusation of the Ministers, but the majority refused; the Chamber adjourned at half-past four, amidst the utmost clamour. A public sitting was announced for the next day on the question of the Bordeaux Bank."

Shortly after five o'clock the firing had ceased in every quarter, and general unanimity prevailed. Large parties of the National Guard, mingled with the populace, paraded the streets, shouting *Vive la Réforme!* On the Boulevards the crowd was very dense, especially opposite the Office for Foreign Affairs, and incessant cries of *Vive la Réforme!* *Vive le Roi!* rent the air, and proclaimed the joy of the people at the downfall of an unconstitutional Minister.

Yet all were not satisfied. Some, on the contrary, expressed bitter disappointment. The people, they said, were deceived; a Molé Ministry was a farce; if the populace laid down their arms, it would be only to take them up again. The majority, however, rejoiced.

Towards seven o'clock, immense numbers of the working classes came down the Boulevards, conducted by men bearing torches, and all vociferously roaring out the incessant chorus, *Mourir pour la Patrie*, &c. On reaching the Foreign Office, they passed on to the pavement, and cheered the troops that were posted there in great force. At the church of the Madeleine was stationed a detachment of the National Guard, the commander of which advanced to meet the torch-bearers, and exhorted them to extinguish their lights, and to be peaceable and orderly. This advice was instantly adopted amidst loud cries of *Vive la Garde Nationale!*

Between eight and nine o'clock, a general illumination commenced; and, within an hour, every window was, with rare exceptions, lighted up, and every face was animated with the most cheerful expression. A parley occurred between the troops and the people, on the demand of the latter for illuminating the Foreign Office. A moment big with fate was approaching. An assemblage of not fewer than 10,000 men was in front of the Foreign Office. This was about ten, or a quarter past ten o'clock. Suddenly, a single musket shot was heard! That shot was instantaneously succeeded by the discharge of a volley from the entire line of troops into the centre of the crowd! "The scene which followed," says Mr. St. John, "was awful. Thousands of men, women, children, shrieking, bawling, raving, were seen flying in all directions, while sixty-two men, women, and lads, belonging to every class of society, lay weltering in their blood on the pavement."

One universal cry of vengeance arose from the crowd, and a thousand voices exclaimed—"To arms! We are betrayed! To arms! Down with the assassins! Down with Louis Philippe! Down with all his race! Barricades! Barricades!" Such were the cries with which every street in Paris soon re-echoed.

M. de Courtais, a Deputy of the Opposition, and then commanding the National Guard, hastened to the spot to inquire the cause of the dreadful occurrence. He found the Colonel of the Regiment which had fired (the 14th) deeply

concerned at the deplorable event. He stated that his horse's leg had been broken by the discharge of a musket ball; and, regarding this as the commencement of an attack on the part of the populace, he had ordered his men to fire. "M. le Colonel," said the Deputy, "you are a soldier; I believe in your good faith; but you must not forget that an awful responsibility rests upon your head." The Colonel was immediately sent to prison. It was at first supposed that the fatal shot had been accidental; but it was afterwards found to have been fired by a fellow named Lagrange, one of the condemned Lyons conspirators of 1832. According to his own confession, "finding that affairs were likely after all to take a favourable turn for royalty, he determined to risk this last step, in order to arouse the angry passions of the multitude."

Meanwhile, M. Courtais hurried with a mass of the populace towards the office of the *National*—the ardent advocate of democracy. The crowd thundered forth the *Marseillaise*; and M. Marrast, the editor, appeared at the window and addressed to the people some expressions of sympathy and admiration.

The next object was to remove the heaps of dead and dying. The wounded, and such bodies as were claimed, were borne off to the houses in the neighbourhood; whilst some of the National Guards in uniform were carried to their respective *mairies*, serving every where as a bloody banner of insurrection. Seventeen corpses were retained—placed upon a *tombereau*, or sort of open cart, and paraded through the city, with the accompaniments of funeral torches and *chants des morts*, to excite the fury and vengeance of the people. Ghastly, indeed, was the spectacle! In the first instance, the procession halted in front of the office of the *National*. There, M. Garnier-Pagès, subsequently a member of the Provisional Government, happened to be in company with his friend, M. Marrast, the editor, and subsequently also a member of the Provisional Government. Monsieur Garnier-Pagès pronounced a fervid discourse over the bodies, and promised the people "vengeance." Making a *détour*, the procession next visited the office of *La Réforme*; and there the editor of that paper, M. Ferdinand Flocon, subsequently another member of the Provisional Government, delivered a warm address to the crowd, in which he promised them "justice." The pageant next advanced to the *Place de la*

Bastille ; and, there, at the foot of the Column of July, the dead bodies—having thus served a temporary and mischievous purpose—were left, and, by an indecent negligence, suffered to remain unburied till the close of the succeeding day.

Throughout the night, no farther shouts were heard. But—"the people," observes an eye-witness, "were now in earnest, and a superhuman energy directed their labours. An incessant firing was kept up between the troops and the armed men, while barricades arose, as by magic, across the Boulevards and all the principal streets and by-ways in the Quartiers St. Denis, St. Martin, and St. Antoine. On the Boulevards the trees were cut down, paving stones torn up, and vehicles of all denominations upset, to form barricades at every hundred yards, sufficiently firm to check the advance of either cavalry or infantry, unsupported by artillery. The very air seemed conscious of impending disasters, and never was daylight more sincerely welcomed than on the morning of the 24th of February.

SECTION V.

THE THIRD OF THE THREE DAYS.—ROYAL ABDICATION AND FLIGHT.

Appointment of Marshal Bugeaud.—Failure of Molé's Mission.—Alarm of the King.—Thiers and Barrot.—Resignation of Bugeaud and Appointment of Lamoricière.—First Steps of the New Ministry.—Proclamations.—Bloodshed.—Romantic Incident.—Attack and Capture of the Palais Royal.—Alarm of Louis Philippe.—Review of the Troops.—Rejection of the New Ministers.—Emile Girardin's Interview with the King.—Abdication.—Demi-Official Statement.—Frightful Aspect of the Tuileries.—Tragi-Comedy.—Flight of the Royal Family.

LATE on the preceding night, Louis Philippe received the information that the people and the National Guards were all flying to arms, and making the most formidable preparations, for attack as well as for defence. A decree *was* immediately signed, appointing Marshal Bugeaud

Commander of the National Guard, in the room of Jacquemont. The most unfavourable reports followed in rapid succession.

M. Molé, after fruitlessly endeavouring to form a new cabinet, had resigned his mission. The King now became seriously alarmed, and on the earnest solicitation of his sons, as it is said, sent for M. Thiers. On his arrival, that gentleman at once undertook to submit to his Majesty the list of a new cabinet, making a proviso, however, that he should be permitted to associate with him M. Odillon Barrot. To this the King assented.

The proposed arrangement was immediately communicated to the National Guard, bivouacked at the *mairie* of the 11th arrondissement. The intelligence was received in dead silence. It was evident that more was now desired than the change of a ministry.

The first act of M. Thiers and his colleagues was to forbid Marshal Bugeaud to attack the insurgents. Finding he was not to have *carte blanche*, the Marshal indignantly resigned. He was replaced by General Lamoricière, Thiers's brother-in-law. Their next step was to order the troops not to defend their positions; and their third, to apprise the insurgents that they were not to be resisted. With all possible speed was issued the following Proclamation, signed by Thiers, Odillon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne:—

“Orders have been given to cease firing every where. We have just been charged by the King to form a ministry. The Chamber will be dissolved, and an appeal made to the country. General Lamoricière has been appointed Commandant of the National Guards.

“LIBERTY! ORDER! UNION! REFORM!”

This proclamation, with other proclamations subsequently posted, was instantly and indignantly torn down by the populace, whose universal cry was—*Il est trop tard!* “It is too late!”

Proceedings less conciliatory than these Proclamations had occurred. “At break of day,” says Mr. St. John, “the Municipal Guard, and many of the regiments of the line, proceeded to attack the barricades of the Rues St. Denis, St. Martin, &c., as well as those of the Boulevard Montmartre. Great slaughter occurred. The force of the people was tremendous. The Hôtel de Ville, and its *Place*, was cap-

tured by the division under General Paget, at an early hour in the morning. The popular force was still further strengthened by the soldiers in the *caserne* Poissonnière, who gave up their arms to the people."

About ten o'clock, Messrs. Thiers, Barrot, and Lamoricière mounted their horses, and, attended by a sort of *état-major* of their colleagues and allies, proceeded to several of the barricades for the purpose of announcing their appointment—to promise reform, and to harangue the insurgents into good humour and acquiescence. In passing over some of the barricades they experienced great difficulty. Their oratorical display, however, was received with the universal cry—*Il est trop tard!* The new Ministers—the Ministers of an hour—were every where received with hootings, peltings, and at last with shots—Lamoricière was wounded—and nothing was left for them but a rapid retreat from the fury of the mob.

In another hour, the Second Legion of the National Guard marched steadily and in good order down the Rue de la Paix, and along the Rue de Rivoli, towards the Chamber of Deputies. On reaching the Place de la Concorde, they were joined by some three thousand armed men, who had just arrived from Rouen, a town notorious for the turbulent and reckless character of its working population. At this point, however, after the people had succeeded in destroying the guard-houses, and in cutting to pieces the Municipal Guard stationed at that post, the conflict had nearly ceased.

Here occurred one of those strange and romantic incidents which sometimes arise out of the circumstances of the moment. Of the ill-fated Municipal Guard, one man alone remained, and his doom seemed inevitable "Mademoiselle!" cried the Commandant of the National Guard, to a girl who was standing by, "you may save this man!"—"What must I do? I am ready."—"Throw yourself into his arms, and claim him as your father. Without a moment's hesitation, she rushed before the pointed muskets of the people, and, clasping the devoted soldier in her arms, she exclaimed—"For the love of God spare my father, or kill me with him!" Her heroism rewarded—the man was saved, and lived to bless her!

At the office of the Ministry of Finance, a desperate attempt was made to disarm the soldiers who had

posted there for its protection; but the men hastily retreated within the court, and fired an ineffective volley at their assailants.

About noon, a strong column of the people, supported by the National Guard, advanced into the Place du Palais Royal, and called upon the soldiers stationed in the building opposite (the Château d'Eau, belonging to the King) to surrender their arms. The demand was determinedly resisted. After a long and fruitless parley, a few shots were in consequence fired in the direction of the guard-house, to which the soldiers replied by a deadly volley. For nearly two hours from this time, an incessant discharge of fire-arms was kept up, and the loss by killed and wounded on the part of the people was heavy. About half-past twelve, General Lamoricière, attended by his Aide-de-Camp and two officers of the Staff of the National Guard, rode into the Place du Palais Royal, and ordered the troops to lay down their arms. The order was disregarded, and the General himself narrowly escaped with his life.

In the morning, after the final dismissal of the Guizot Administration, Louis Philippe and the Queen, with the Duc and Duchesse de Nemours, the Duc and Duchesse de Montpensier, and the Duc and Duchesse Auguste of Saxe-Cobourg, remained in the Palace of the Tuileries. The King was surrounded by a large number of his most intimate personal friends, amongst whom were the Duc de Broglie and several other members of the Chamber of Peers. M. Thiers and many other leading Deputies were also present, all anxious to advise with the King as to the best course of proceeding under the circumstances of the time. A large body of troops of the line and one or two battalions of National Guards were drawn up within the rails of the Carrousel for the protection of the Palace. It was thought politic that the King should pass them in review. He accordingly, attended by his staff, descended into the court. He was received by the troops with a decent air of loyalty and cries of *Vive le Roi!* The National Guards were sullen, but not silent. As the King passed, they cried *La Réforme!* Louis Philippe, somewhat humbly, replied, *Oui, mes amis, vous aurez la Réforme.*—"Yes, my friends, you shall have Reform." *LA RÉFORME!* re-echoed the Guards, in a tone and with a look of resolute menace and

defiance that were almost appalling. The King returned; much dispirited, to his apartments.

At length an attack was made on the post of the Palais Royal; but there the troops almost instantly fraternized with the people, and, establishing themselves in the Cour d'Honneur, kept up a well-directed fire against the Château d'Eau. In the meantime the royal carriages were brought into the middle of the Place, and there set on fire. The blaze was tremendous. Under cover of this defence, several men advanced to the centre of the Place, and at last succeeded in firing the guard-house itself. Of twenty-five men of the Municipal Guard, four only remained alive, and even they were sorely wounded. Of the troops of the line it is not known how many fell; but no attempt was made to save the wounded, who in a few minutes must have been either suffocated or burnt to death. The Palais Royal was carried by storm, after a battle which had lasted nearly an hour. Then arose the cry—*Aux Tuileries!* Whilst the greater part of the combatants—the National Guards and the people—pressed on towards the Place du Carrousel, a few humanely occupied themselves in conveying the wounded to the Gallerie Vitree, in the Palais Royal, where mattresses were hastily laid down, and the utmost care and attention paid to the sufferers. Others, less philanthropically engaged, forced their way into the palace; and, immediately, the work of devastation commenced. In a few minutes, costly carved and gilt furniture—including even the splendid chair in which Louis Philippe had first sat as King—magnificent hangings, fine paintings, and handsomely bound books adorned with the royal arms, were seen flying out of the windows. An immense fire was lighted in the court, and objects of art of incalculable value were speedily consumed, whilst the continued crashes that were heard from within the apartments told too truly that the fierce and vindictive mob were completing their work of destruction by smashing the mirrors and costly candelabra.

On returning from his inspection of the troops, Louis Philippe learned with dismay that the Tuileries was surrounded with barricades—that the Thiers and Barrot Ministry was peremptorily rejected by the people—that, in every direction, the cry was now, *A bas Louis Philippe!*—that an attack on the Tuileries was instantly expected.

M. Emile de Girardin has published a curious and re-

markable account of what passed at the Tuileries about this time. Earlier in the day he had endeavoured, but ineffectually, to obtain an interview with the King. It has been already stated, that the morning's proclamation, announcing the formation of the Thiers Ministry, was hooted and torn down on the instant of its appearance. Judging from this fact of the serious state of affairs, M. de Girardin hastily wrote the four following lines, with his signature affixed, in the form of a Proclamation :—

“ Abdication of the King.

“ Regency of the Duchesse d'Orléans.

“ Dissolution of the Chamber.

“ General Amnesty.

“ E. DE GIRARDIN.”

He now made another attempt to see the King, but was not admitted to the royal cabinet till after several minutes had been spent in waiting in the ante-chamber. The interview which followed is thus described by Girardin himself, writing in the third person :—

“ The King was stretched on a large fauteuil, placed near the window. MM. Thiers and de Remusat were present, standing, leaning on the mantelpiece.

“ ‘What is the matter, M. de Girardin?’ asked the King.—‘The matter is, Sire, that you are losing a precious time, and that, if the most energetic course is not immediately adopted, in one hour there will be no longer a King in France.’

“ M. de Girardin immediately had all eyes bent upon him; they looked to see if he was not mad in expressing himself thus. He perceived at the side of M. Thiers M. Merruan, principal editor of the *Constitutionnel*.

“ ‘Ask,’ he quickly replied, ‘ask M. Merruan about the reception which the proclamation printed by the *Constitutionnel* and *Presse* has received; ask him if it was permitted to be placarded?’

“ The statement of M. de Girardin was confirmed by M. Merruan.

“ After a moment of silence and dejection, the voice of the King was heard asking—

“ ‘What must be done?’—‘Abdicate!’ replied M. de Girardin.

“ ‘Abdicate!’ was exclaimed. ‘Yes, without hesitation,

and confer the regency on the Duchesse d'Orléans, for the Duc de Nemours will not be accepted.'

"The King arose, and said, 'Gentlemen, do you wish me to mount my horse?'—'No,' they replied.

"The Duc de Montpensier approached the King, and pressed him to abdicate. The King said, 'I abdicate.' . . .

"The regency of the Duchesse d'Orléans was then agreed on.

"The noise of the firing at this time became more and more distinct, and already it was expected that the Tuileries must be soon attacked.

"'Go, go, M. de Girardin!' was heard from all sides.

"M. de Girardin left the palace without any other guarantee than the King's word.

"At the corner of the Rue Richelieu and the Rue St. Honoré he was stopped by the persons guarding the barricade. He announced to them the abdication of the King, the regency of the Duchesse d'Orléans, the dissolution of the Chamber, and a general amnesty. No one would believe the intelligence.

"'Is the news in print?' was the first question asked of every one.—'No.'

"'Is it in writing?'—'No.'

"'What guarantee have you to give us?'—'My word.'

"'Who are you?'—'Emile de Girardin.'

"'The Deputy who resigned his seat?'—'Yes.'

"'That is enough for us. Pass, pass.'

"Acclamations then burst out, and every one cried with transport, 'The King has abdicated! The Chamber is dissolved!'"

M. de Girardin proceeded to the Place du Palais Royal, where the firing was going on between the post of the Château d'Eau and the people intrenched behind the columns and iron paling of the court of the palace. In vain did he endeavour to stop the firing. After a whole hour lost in exhortations drowned in the whistling of balls, M. de Girardin returned to the Tuileries, where, says he, "he found neither the King, nor the Princes, nor the Ministers, in the room where he had left them.

"Where were they? What had taken place?—M. de Girardin did not know.

"Interrogated by the crowd, which was entering, and which knew nothing either, he could but reply, 'The King

has abdicated; the Duchesse d'Orléans is Regent; the Chamber is dissolved: a general amnesty is proclaimed.'

" 'Is it true?'—'Yes!' 'Write and sign it.'

" M. de Girardin sat down by a table, and there, during an hour at least, he wrote and signed more than five hundred bulletins of the abdication, which the crowd disputed for and tore from each other; all were similar to that of which the *facsimile* had been distributed.

" It was about one o'clock. At that time still the idea of the regency intrusted to the Duchesse d'Orléans was so favourably received that it excited incredulity, like every news which surpasses one's expectation."

The subjoined account—the clearest and most circumstantial that has appeared—of the proceedings at the Tuileries, immediately after the abdication of the King, is from the *Réforme* newspaper:—

" The 5th Legion of the National Guard, having its major, its lieutenant-colonel, two chiefs of battalions, and several officers at its head, marched on the Tuileries. It had arrived at the Rue de l'Echelle, when firing was heard on the Place du Palais Royal; it was the post of the Château d'Eau which recommenced the combat. At the same instant the legion hastened to the place where the firing took place, and with it the thousands of combatants who followed it. At this moment Marshal Gerard appeared with a branch of verdure in his hand, enjoining the combatants to cease firing. The post of the chateau refused, and the combat continued. The marshal returned to the corner of the Rue St. Honoré. At that moment an officer of the chateau appeared, bearing a paper in his hands—it was the abdication of Louis Philippe. The document was taken from the hands of the officer by a lieutenant of the 5th legion, the citizen Aubert Roche, and remitted to be preserved to the citizen Lagrange, of Lyons. The firing continued. It was feared that the troops confined in the Tuileries would come to take the combatants by the flank. A *reconnaissance* had been made. Within the railings, there were 3000 infantry, six pieces of cannon in battery, two squadrons of dragoons, without counting the armed guardians, and some Municipal Guards. This force, protected by the railing and the artillery, could, on this large place, if attacked, give rise to a bloody battle—every thing was to be feared. A profound silence reigned, and it was interrupted only by the

fusillade of the Place du Palais Royal, and some musket-shots at the troops within the château. It was learned that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 10th legions surrounded the Tuileries, and that the others were on the march. The combat was imminent. It was then that Lieutenant Aubert Roche, advancing towards the railing near the Rue de Rivoli, caused the commandant of the Tuileries to be sent for. That person arrived with great fear. 'You are lost!' cried the lieutenant. 'You are surrounded, and a combat will be commenced, if you do not evacuate the Tuileries, and give them up to the National Guard.' The commandant, understanding the position, caused the troops to be ranged in line against the château, without causing them to leave. Before that they had been drawn up in *échelons*. Seeing that the movement of retreat was not effected, citizen Aubert Roche, accompanied by the citizen Lesueur, *chef de bataillon* of the canton of Lagny-Rincy, who joined the 5th legion, ran to the railing of the Rue de Rivoli, knocked, and announced themselves with a flag of truce. The gate was then opened, and both of them, unaccompanied, with their swords in their hands, entered into the midst of the court, which was full of soldiers. The commandant of the Tuileries advanced, saying that he had caused the troops to be withdrawn. 'That is not enough,' said the lieutenant; 'the palace must be evacuated: if not, misfortune will happen.' The commandant of the Tuileries then conducted the two officers before the Pavillon de l'Horloge, where stood several generals, and the Duc de Nemours, all with consternation impressed on their faces. 'Monseigneur,' said the commandant of the Tuileries, 'here is an excellent citizen, who will give you the means of preventing the effusion of blood.' 'What must be done?' said the prince, in a trembling voice, to the lieutenant who was presented to him. 'Sir, you must evacuate the palace at this very instant, and give it up to the National Guard; if you do not, you are lost. The combat will be a bloody one; the Tuileries are surrounded; the 5th legion, of which I form part, is fighting at this moment at the Palais Royal, with its major and superior officers at its head. Take care that the combat does not cease before these troops have left; if not, a battle will take place even here, in spite of you.' 'You think so,' replied the duke. 'I will make the troops retire.' And, at the same instant, in presence of the

two officers of the National Guard, he gave the order to retreat. The artillery went by the railing of the palace, the staff and the Duc de Nemours by the Pavillon de l'Horloge, their horses descending the flight of steps. The cavalry followed them, then the infantry. It was even forgotten to relieve the posts who remained. The citizen Aubert Roche charged himself to introduce the National Guard in the palace. He went to warn the National Guards who were then near the staff. The National Guard then put the butt-end of their muskets in the air, and entered the court of the Tuileries by the railing of the Rue de Rivoli, accompanied by the curious, all quite astonished to find themselves masters of the palace. A quarter of an hour after the combat ceased on the Place du Palais Royal, the combatants hastened to attack the Tuileries, but they found the gates opened. Thus was taken, or rather surrendered, the redoubtable fortress. A National Guard made a summons in the name of the armed people, and royalty evacuated the place."

Here it becomes necessary to turn back for a few moments, for the sake of perusing the succeeding extract from what has been regarded as a demi-official narrative of "*The Three Days of February*:" it is presumed to be from the pen of M. Guizot, or possibly from that of Louis Philippe himself, after the arrival of the fugitives in England :—

"The troops of the line, paralysed by the order not on any account to fire, presented but a weak rampart against the insurgents—they fell back within the court of the Tuileries. The National Guard had wholly disappeared, the insurgent crowd continued to advance; already were heard the discharges of their firearms. The Ministers, in a state of consternation, lost all hope. Amid the terrible confusion which reigned round Louis Philippe, some exclaimed, 'Will you permit your whole family to be butchered?' Others, 'The Regency of the Duchesse d'Orléans will save all.' The King signed his abdication, and withdrew from the Palace of the Tuileries to retire to St. Cloud.

"Meanwhile the Duc de Nemours, doubtless with the design of protecting the King's retreat, was still on horseback in the court of the Tuileries, with two regiments of infantry. The position could, however, be defended no longer. The Duc gave directions to abstain from firing, in order to spare useless bloodshed. He also, though in

vain, sought to repel the seditious rabble by a weak detachment of National Guards that had just re-entered the court. While these events were taking place, he learned that the Duchesse d'Orléans, with her two sons, had quitted the Tuileries by the garden. It was in good time: one instant later and she would have been unable to save herself or her infant children, for armed bands were already making their way into the gardens through the railing of the Rue de Rivoli. The Prince ran to join her. On his arrival at the Place de la Concorde, he gave orders for the troops to be drawn up along the Champs Elysées, with a view to conducting the Duchesse d'Orléans safely to the Palace of St. Cloud. In the meantime he posted guards at all the exits of the Place, and at the Pont Tournant. While the Prince was superintending the execution of these different measures of precaution, the Duchesse d'Orléans was with her children conducted into the Chamber of Deputies, in the midst of a group, in which were many members of the Chamber, and officers in attendance upon the Count de Paris.

"The Duc de Nemours, apprised of this, rejoined the Duchesse with a resolution which involved more than one description of courage; for he went to see broken before his eyes the law that had named him as the future Regent, and exposed his head to an imminent peril.

"The Chamber received the Duchesse with acclamations, which were redoubled after the speech of M. Dupin. On the benches of the deputies and in the tribune, 'Long live the Regent!' 'Long live the Count de Paris!' were loudly shouted. The sitting, however, was prolonged. The Radical Opposition drowned the voice of M. Odillon Barrot, who spoke in support of the Regency. Finally, several orators insisted upon an appeal to the people. At this moment the headstrong rabble, armed with sabres, pikes, and firearms, preceded by persons in the uniform of the National Guard who bore a tricolour flag, threw itself into the hall. A young madman, in a blouse, from the height of the tribune, levelled a gun with direct aim at the President. Another stared with ferocious earnestness upon the group in which were the members of the Royal Family. The national representation was contemptuously disregarded, profaned, outraged, and dissolved; the Regency was trampled under foot; the Republic proclaimed; and the Duchesse d'Orléans, and her two sons, with the Duc de Nemours, had to make their

escape through a frightful tumult and the greatest danger.

"Thus the insurrection was at the same time master of the Palace of the Tuileries and of the Chamber of Deputies. The National Guard, whose duty it was to suppress the sedition, had become its auxiliary. The army, reduced to inactivity, had lost its moral force. What remained then to do? Could Louis Philippe have had the will, or could he have had the power, to command the troops of the line to fire upon the National Guard? What would have been the morrow of such a day?"

It would be difficult to describe, or even to imagine, the grotesque yet almost heart-breaking scene which the Palace of the Tuileries presented after its capture. At every window might be seen men and boys in blouses, ornamented with sashes and scarfs made of the curtains, and firing off at every moment muskets, pistols, and fowling-pieces. A buxom damsel seated astride on a cavalry horse, and brandishing a drawn sword in her hand, was conducted through the vestibule of the palace into the garden, where numbers flocked around her, shouting *Vive la Liberté! Vive le Peuple Souverain!* In the billiard-room, the balls and two queues were resting on the table, as though the game had been unexpectedly interrupted. In the Queen's apartment the pianoforte had been left open. In one of the rooms an equestrian painting of Louis Philippe had served as a target for many a young marksman. In another, two drunken fellows had clambered into the Queen's bed, where they slept, or seemed to sleep. In the Salle des Maréchaux, the portrait of Marshal Bugeaud was hewn to pieces by daggers, bayonets, and sabres, and his bust was broken into fragments. "From one of the upper windows, a bust of Louis Philippe was precipitated into the Rue de Rivoli, and, notwithstanding its forcible ejection it alighted on the pavement without receiving any injury. '*Ah! le vieux gredin!*' exclaimed the fellow who threw it, 'that head of stone feels nothing!' A bystander, however, broke off the nose with a pickaxe, and every one who passed bestowed a kick or a blow upon the unconscious marble. In the chapel, a magnificent sculpture of Christ on the Cross struck the people with admiration, and every head was uncovered. *Voilà notre maître à nous tous!* cried a pupil of the Polytechnic School; and the Crucifix was conveyed with every mark of

respect to the Church of St. Roch, amidst universal cries of *Chapeaux bas ! Saluez le Christ !*"

In the Throne-room, several men in blouses seated themselves in turn upon the throne, to try, as it would seem, whether it were a bed of roses. Within three quarters of an hour after the departure of the King, a friend of the writer of these pages quietly smoked a cigar on the same resting-place of royalty. Presently, the flags were rudely torn from the side of the throne, and an old man thus apostrophised its last occupant of the Orleans dynasty—*Brigand ! va, tu n'auras plus ni trône ni drapeaux !* Ultimately the throne itself was borne out of the palace, and, after having been paraded in triumph along the Boulevards, was burnt at the foot of the Column of July.

Later in the day—about five o'clock—frequent visits to the cellars had aroused the organ of destructiveness in the mob, and much valuable property was recklessly sacrificed and thrown out of the windows. "Half-tipsy men arrayed themselves in the magnificent dresses of the royal family and suite, but without much regard to the harmony of colours. Ball-dresses were thrown on over the blouse—a cocked hat assumed the place of a greasy cap—a bell-rope furnished the sash—an embroidered coat was donned over the ball-dress—and a musket on the shoulder, and a sabre by the side, completed the masquerade."

Yet, amidst all this absurdity, wantonness, and wickedness, considerable respect was paid to public property, and also to the property of individuals ; and instances were not wanting, either within the palace or beyond its precincts, of theft being summarily punished on the spot by death. A man in the Rue Jeannison had been detected in stealing a silver spoon. *Tu n'es pas de nous*, cried his companions ; *les patriotes ne sont jamais des voleurs. A genoux !* Five balls laid the poor wretch dead at their feet ! In another place, a boy armed with a musket had compelled a citizen to give him some money to allow him to pass a barricade. The others instantly compelled him to restore the money, observing—*Le peuple ne reçoit pas d'argent*. Again, some men applied at a house for arms. 'I have none,' replied the proprietor ; 'search the house, if you doubt me.' 'Then give us money to buy some.' He accordingly gave them fifty francs. In a few minutes they brought the money back, saying, on reflection, it appeared to them too much like a

robbery, and apologized for having disturbed him.—Inside the Palace was every where written—*Les voleurs seront mis à mort* ; and also—*Palais sous la sauvegarde du peuple*.”

But—where were the royal family all this time?—The following, by an eye-witness—M. Meurice, the Editor of the *Courrier des Spectacles*—is the best account that has been given of their departure :—

“ This last scene of a reign is not easily rendered, and the reason will be readily understood. It passed before the eyes of very few persons, the troops excepted, and when every where an agitation fermented, and when all the masses of the people were around the Palais Royal and the façade of the Tuileries. Probabilities have taken the place of fact. No one could be aware of what was passing at the Pont Tournant, where were only about one hundred and fifty unarmed citizens. I was present. About one o'clock, whilst in conversation with the colonel of the 21st regiment of the line, who appeared well disposed, and of which he gave a proof in ordering his men to sheath their bayonets, a young man in plain clothes, who turned out to be the son of Admiral Baudin, on horseback, trotted past us at a quick pace, crying out that Louis Philippe had abdicated, and requesting that the news might be circulated. A few minutes after, at the Pont Tournant, we saw approach from the Tuileries a troop of National Guards on horseback, at a walking pace, forming the head of a procession, and by gestures and cries inviting the citizens to abstain from every unfavourable demonstration. At this moment the expression ‘ a great misfortune ’ (*une grande infortune*) was heard ; and the King, Louis Philippe, his right arm passed under the left arm of the Queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen to approach from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of horsemen, and followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The Queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The King wore a black coat, with a common round hat, and wore no orders. The Queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to deposit the act of abdication. Cries of *Vive la Réforme ! Vive la France !* and even by two or three persons, *Vive le Roi !* were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the Obelisk, when

the King, the Queen, and the whole party made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so crowded that they had no longer their freedom of motion. Louis Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. In fact, the spot fatally chosen by an effect of chance produced a strange feeling. A few paces off a Bourbon King, an innocent and resigned victim, would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis Philippe turned quickly round, let go the Queen's arm, took off his hat, raised it in the air, and cried out something which the noise prevented my hearing; in fact, the cries and *pêle mêle* were general. The Queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the King's arm, and turned round with extreme haste, saying something which I could not catch. At this moment I said, *Madame, ne craignez rien; continuez, les rangs vont s'ouvrir devant vous.* Whether her anxiety gave a false interpretation to my intention or not, I am ignorant; but, pushing back my hand, she exclaimed, *Laissez-moi*, with a most irritated accent; she seized hold of the King's arm, and they both turned their steps towards two small black carriages with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The King took the left and the Queen the right, and the children with their faces close to the glass of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity: the coachman whipped his horse violently; in fact, with so much rapidity did it take place, that the coach appeared rather carried than driven away; it passed before me, surrounded by the cavalry and National Guards present, and Cuirassiers and Dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two females, followed the other at the same pace, and the escort, which amounted to about two hundred men, set off at a full gallop, taking the water-side towards St. Cloud. The horse in the coach in which the King was could not have gone the whole way, so furiously did he gallop under the repeated lashes of the coachman, whilst the surrounding crowds vociferated that they were taking flight. At this moment I was accosted by M. Crémieux, who said with truth that we had put the royal party in their carriage, and we proceeded together to the Chamber of Deputies, which he entered with M. Larochjaquelein, who was standing in front of the building on the square."

Some further particulars of the distressing journey of the royal fugitives, to St. Cloud, Versailles, Dreux, Honfleur, Havre, and on to England, will be found in our *Biographical Memoirs of Louis Philippe the First* (No. 36 of the present series), page 63. The family were strangely scattered in their flight. The Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier were both separated from their wives. The former arrived in London three days afterwards, accompanied by his sister, her husband the Duke of Saxe Cobourg, and four children. The poor Duchesse de Montpensier—a stranger, only sixteen years of age, and in the family way—terrified from the palace by the inroads of the mob, wandered about the streets of Paris till five o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by an old Spanish servant, who knew not a word of French. She was recognised in the Rue de Havre by a gentleman who undertook to protect her and conduct her to his house. There she remained some days, and at length reached England, accompanied by her husband's aide-de-camp. The Duchesse de Nemours arrived at Portsmouth on the 4th of March, under the escort of the Duc de Montpensier.

SECTION VI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER.—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Duchesse d'Orléans in the Chamber.—Stormy Opposition.—Odillon Barrot, Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, &c.—Brutish Violence of the Mob.—Departure of the Duchesse.—A Provisional Government proposed.—The Last Sitting of the Chamber.—Louis Philippe and the Charter.—Formation of the Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville.—Proclamation of the Republic.—Decrees.—Abolition of Capital Punishments for Political Offences.—Lamartine and the Communists.—Return of Tranquillity.—Catastrophe at the Château de Neuilly.—Inscription on the Column of July.—Obsequies of the Martyrs.

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding Section were passing, the Duchesse d'Orléans, leading her two sons by the hand, and accompanied by the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier, had courageously entered the Chamber of Deputies in the midst of the most indescribable confusion. Loud cries of *Vive le Comte de Paris! Vive la Régente!*

Vive la Duchesse d'Orléans! instantly greeted the royal party from the Centre; but, on the benches of the Left, all was profound silence. With difficulty the Duchesse penetrated to the semicircle in front of the President's chair; but hardly had she seated herself, when an immense body of the people and National Guards, all armed, forced their way into the Chamber, and placed themselves under the tribune. The Duchesse immediately rose and led the young Princes to the range of seats behind the Deputies—about 300 of whom were then present—but still remaining exactly in front of the President. The Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier seated themselves behind the Princes. The agitation had now increased ten-fold, and another body of the people burst into the Chamber.

M. Dupin, who had entered with the Duchesse, now ascended the tribune, and said:—"In the present situation of the capital and of the country, the Chamber was bound to assemble immediately. The King has abdicated. He has disposed of the crown in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, and has constituted the Duchesse d'Orléans Regent."

This address was received with applause from all the Centre, and from some of the tribunes, but with loud disapprobation from the Left. A voice from one of the tribunes exclaimed—*Il est trop tard!* The confusion here became terrific. Deputies and National Guards promiscuously gathered round the Duchesse, all speaking at the same moment, and no one listening.

M. Marie next mounted the tribune, and reminded the Chamber that a law was in existence appointing the Duc de Nemours Regent; and that, until it was repealed, the Duchesse d'Orléans evidently could have no right to that title. He therefore proposed a Provisional Government; "not to give institutions, but to consult with the two Chambers on the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the people."

Un Gouvernement Provisoire! Un Gouvernement Provisoire! repeated numerous voices from the Left.

M. Crémieux protested that he felt the greatest respect for the Duchesse d'Orléans (shouts of *Bravo! Bravo!*)—and that he had just conducted the royal family to the carriage that bore them away (*Bon voyage!* exclaimed a voice from the tribunes)—but still he could not sanction *the violation of an existing law.* "Since there is a neces-

sity for a revolution, let us confine ourselves to the country. I propose a Provisional Government of five members"—
Oui! Oui!

Odillon Barrot, who had just entered, exhorted the Chamber to unanimity. "The crown of July rests on the head of an infant. It is a solemn appeal."—Here the Duchesse and the Comte de Paris rose and bowed to the assembly, the former attempting to speak.—After some interruption—"Our duty," continued M. Barrot, "is simple: it is traced out by the laws and by honour. Should we fail to discharge it, the consequences will be most serious: but whoever shall dare to take upon himself the responsibility of a civil war in France will be guilty of a great crime against his country, and against the liberty, not only of France, but of the entire world. For my part, I will not incur this responsibility. Liberty will be more securely guaranteed by the regency of the Duchesse d'Orléans and a ministry whose opinions have been tested by experience, and an appeal may then be made to the country, to public opinion, free and unfettered, without the danger of inflaming popular passions to a degree that will render a civil war inevitable. Such at least is my opinion, and I cannot consent to adopt any other course."

Whilst the next speaker, M. de la Rochejaquelein, was contending, amidst great tumult, for the necessity of making an immediate appeal to the nation, a tremendous uproar was heard, and a frenzied mob—National Guards in uniform, students, and artizans—burst into the Chamber, some in blouses, with dragoons' helmets on their heads—others with cross-belts and infantry caps—others in ordinary clothes—but all armed to the teeth—swords, lances, spears, muskets—and with tricoloured banners. Appropriating all the vacant seats, some of the intruders even fixed themselves in the tribunes, furiously vociferating *La déchéance! La déchéance! Nous voulons la déchéance!* Indignant at this disgraceful scene, the President put on his hat, and declared the sitting to be suspended. This only increased the tumult, and cries for *Chapeau bas, M. le Président!* mingled with the roar of angry voices. Muskets were even levelled at the President.

The Duchesse d'Orléans and the Duc de Montpensier sat calmly amidst the uproar.

M. Ledru Rollin, overpowering the tumult with his

voice, at length obtained a hearing. He spoke warmly against the idea of a regency, and concluded by demanding, in the name of the people, a Provisional Government. His harangue was received with immense applause. Muskets and sabres were brandished in the air, and some were even pointed at the Conservative Deputies, who precipitately vacated their seats. Suddenly arose terrific cries of *Plus de Bourbons! A bas les Traîtres! Vive la République! Un Gouvernement Provisoire immédiatement!* The tumult was indescribable. The persons immediately around the Duchesse and her children now earnestly implored her to retire; and, as some muskets were already levelled in a direction towards them, she rose with much dignity, and, with the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier and her sons, left the Chamber by a side-door. In the court, a vehicle fortunately was waiting, and in it the Duchesse was conveyed to the Hôtel des Invalides, where she passed the night, and afterwards fled towards the Rhine. On leaving the Chamber, the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier separated from the Duchesse, and also sought safety in flight.

Immediately after the departure of the Duchesse, M. Lamartine addressed the Chamber in a strain of fervid eloquence, following the same line of argument as that which had been adopted by Ledru Rollin, and was incessantly cheered by thunders of applause. He expressed his deep sympathy for the fate of the august Duchesse d'Orléans. For the sake of order and tranquillity, a Provisional Government should be instituted, the object of which should be to prepare the measures necessary for the convocation of the entire people, to consult the wisest of the National Guard, of every one who, bearing the title of man, had a claim to the rights of a citizen.

At this moment violent blows were struck against the door of one of the upper tribunes; and a vast crowd of armed men rushed in, exclaiming *A bas le Chamb! Bas de Députés!* and a gun was even pointed in the direction of the bureau. "Do not fire! do not fire!" cried a hundred voices; "it is M. Lamartine who is speaking."

M. Sauzet, the President, who had kept his seat with mirable coolness and dignity throughout this trying scene, made many unsuccessful efforts to restore silence, but, finding it impossible to quell the tumult, now left the chair and declared the sitting to be at an end. Most of the rema-

Deputies withdrew, leaving their seats to the armed rabble, who were shouting, and roaring, and brandishing their arms, as though Bedlam had broken loose. After some further tumult, M. Dupont de l'Eure was installed in the President's chair; and M. Lamartine attempted, though without success, from the din of voices and the clashing of arms, to read the names of the parties proposed as members of the Provisional Government.

At length, a voice was heard—"To the Hôtel de Ville, with Lamartine at our head! To the Hôtel de Ville! *Vive la République!* From all sides were these sounds repeated; and thus was *the last sitting of the Chamber* brought to a sudden close at four o'clock. Lamartine, accompanied by an immense crowd, immediately proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville.

After the departure of Lamartine from the Chamber, considerable tumult continued to prevail amongst those who remained behind. Presently their attention was directed towards the painting behind the President's chair—a representation of Louis Philippe in the act of swearing fidelity to the Charter. Instantly a cry was heard—*Il faut le déchirer! Il faut le détruire!* and several men rushed forward with their swords raised, to cut it in pieces. "Hold! hold!" cried a workman, with a double-barrelled gun. "I am going to have a shot at Louis Philippe!" and off went both barrels! Immediately after, a journeyman upholsterer, with better feeling, sprang forward to the tribune, and exclaimed—"Respect the monuments! Respect all property! Why do mischief? Why fire at the pictures? We have shown that the people can respect monuments, and do honour to their victory!" By these well-timed words quiet was restored, and the mob vacated the Chamber. At the Hôtel de Ville, the Provisional Government, with certain other ministerial appointments, was, without much difficulty, formed, as follows:—M. Dupont de l'Eure, President; M. Lamartine, Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice; M. Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior; M. Michel Goudchaux, Minister of Finance; General Bèdeau, Minister of War; M. Carnot, Minister of Instruction and Public Worship; M. Bethmont, Minister of Commerce; M. Marie, Minister of Public Works; General Cavaignac, Governor of Algeria; Garnier Pagès, Mayor of Paris; M. Arago, Postmaster-General; Louis Blanc, Minis-

ter of Labour; and Armand Marrast, Flocon, and Albert were appointed Secretaries.

The Provisional Government, in which some slight changes were subsequently made, immediately entered on its functions, and proclamation after proclamation was posted all over the town. Of the character of this new Government, and of the progress of events, some idea may be formed through the following enumerations of some of its early Decrees:—"Unity of the Nation, formed henceforth of the classes of which the nation is composed; Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity for Principles. The People for motto, and the pass-word of Order." "All the citizens form part of the National Guard," the command of which was given to General de Courtais. "The Republic proclaimed. Chamber of Peers forbidden to meet again." All the old titles of nobility abolished, and the qualifications attached thereto annulled. "All condemnations for political offences, and for offences of the press during the last reign, are annulled." "Every prosecution commenced is abolished." The Archbishop of Paris and all the Bishops of the Republic are engaged to substitute for the old form of prayer the words, *Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam*, and to call for the Divine blessing on the people." "All the taxes, without exception, shall continue to be levied as hitherto. All good citizens are engaged, in the name of patriotism, not to delay the payment of their taxes." A budget to be presented to the National Assembly, "in which the taxes, stamps on the periodical press, on the octroi and salt, shall be suppressed." All the armed men to be enrolled into a Garde Nationale Mobile, to be equipped at the expense of the nation, and to receive thirty *sous* a day. All deserters from the Line to be arrested. The National Guard to be reorganized. The Municipal Guard disbanded. The million of francs of the civil list falling due to be divided among the wounded, for whom subscriptions were opened in all parts of Paris. The penalty of death for political offences utterly abolished.

The Communists, whose ferocity had repeatedly been displayed, having expressed their desire to M. Lamartine to adhere to the red flag, that gentleman, in a speech at the conclusion of a sitting which had lasted sixty hours, declared himself determinedly opposed to the proposi-

tion. "Citizens," he exclaimed, "for my part I will never adopt the red flag; and I will explain in a word why I will oppose it with all the energy of my patriotic feeling. It is, citizens, because the tricolour flag has made the tour of the world, under the Republic and the Empire, with our liberties and our glories, and that the red flag has made only the tour of the Champs de Mars, trailed through torrents of the blood of the people." It is to Lamartine also that the nation is indebted for that great boon—the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences.

From Thursday, the 24th of February—the last of the "Three Days"—the day on which the Provisional Government was constituted—until Monday the 28th, the shops of Paris remained closed. On Friday, however, the town was quiet, though the more timid part of the population experienced great alarm at the constant firing off of guns, and the uproarious harmony of half-drunken "patriots." Moreover, thieves, who happened to be caught in the act of delinquency, were instantly shot, and their bodies exposed near public thoroughfares, with the significant intimation—*Voleurs*. In the skirts or precincts of the town, some frightful excesses were occasionally perpetrated.

Every thing relating personally to Louis Philippe was remorselessly destroyed. His Château de Neuilly, not far from Paris, was partially plundered, and almost entirely consumed by fire. A terrible retribution, however, overtook the offenders. A number of them—according to some accounts, more than a hundred—had found their way into the cellars, and indulged in drink to such an extent that they were unable to crawl out when the château was fired; and in consequence every one of them was suffocated or burnt to death.

On Sunday, the 27th, the Provisional Government proceeded with much pomp and ceremony to the Column of July, that pillar already sacred to freedom, and inscribed on it the words, *La Liberté Reconquise!* After this, the National Guard was passed in review, and many florid harangues were delivered on the happy course of events.

Another ostentatious procession took place on Saturday, the 4th of March, when the obsequies of sixteen individuals, *morts pour la liberté*, were celebrated at the foot of the Column of July. The remains of the victims were borne to

their last resting-place on a car, decorated with the symbols of the Republic, and attended by music and other solemnities.

SECTION VII.

THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Dupont de l'Eure.—Lamartine.—Crémieux.—Arago.—Ledru Rollin.—Garnier Pages.—Marie.—Marrast.—Louis Blanc.—Flocon.—Albert.—Miscellaneous Remarks.

A FEW particulars relating to the respective members of the Provisional Government will assist the reader in judging of their subsequent conduct.

Dupont de l'Eure, the President of the council, is in his 81st year. Though of mediocre talent, he is much respected. He is called De l'Eure, because in the Representative Chamber, under Napoleon, in 1813, he was Deputy for the department of Eure. In the first Revolution he was a member of the Council of Five Hundred; in 1811, he was President of the Court of Rouen; in 1813, he was President of the *Corps Législatif*; in 1815, he proposed the celebrated Declaration, in which the rights of citizens were reserved; and after the "three glorious days" of July, 1830, he was Louis Philippe's Minister of Justice. Though he accepted the title of Chevalier from Buonaparte, he professed, so far as he dared, republican principles, and proclaimed them openly after the Restoration. At the elections of 1842, indignant at seeing the Deputies of the Eure invariably voting in favour of the Guizot Ministry, he contested four Colleges of that department simultaneously. He was elected in all four, and chose Evreux. His own votes were constantly given against the Guizot administration.

M. de Lamartine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a gentleman of birth and fortune, and married to an English lady. He is in his 58th year. Many years since he commenced his diplomatic career; and, so far back as 1828 or 1830, he was named Plenipotentiary by Charles X. His first political impressions were legitimist. He is a man of fine feelings and refined taste—a taste perhaps somewhat over cultivated. He has long been known as the first poet of what

is called, in France, the Romantic School. A little volume of his, published anonymously in 1843, and republished with his name on the 1st of December, 1847, has attracted considerable notice. This work, entitled *France and England, or a Vision of the Future*, contains some extraordinary revelations, and some equally extraordinary prophetic passages. Several of his predictions have been strikingly fulfilled. Notwithstanding his first legitimist principles, this volume seems to prove his early connection with the republican party. This was probably the cause that, when a Provisional Government was to be formed, his name was inscribed on both the lists; and he was thus placed in a position in which his energy, courage, and eloquence have proved of signal service to the new republic, and to the preservation of life and property in Paris on various occasions. Having long held an undecided position in the Chamber, the day on which he determinedly ranged himself on the side of the Opposition was a day of great rejoicing to that party. From that time M. de Lamartine warmly favoured the cause of progressive reform, and ridiculed the Guizot Cabinet as the "Ministry of Limitations." In his *Voyage en Orient*, he relates some curious conversations which he had enjoyed with Lady Hester Stanhope; and, in one of them, that very remarkable woman "told him his fortune by the stars!" His most recent literary production is the *History of the Girondins*, a work partaking largely of the character of romance. In *Kelly's Narrative of the French Revolution of 1848*, he is thus graphically described, in a report by an English gentleman:—"M. de Lamartine is a tall spare man, with features somewhat worn and eager; the nose aquiline and prominent; the lips rather thin, slightly compressed, and nervous. His eye, as it rests on you, has that peculiar expression which I have observed in men whose vision is perpetually gazing beyond the actual, the individual,—fixed on futurity,—ranging in the ideal and the universal. Had we been talking in the open air, I should have thought that he divided his attention between me and some star in the horizon. His utterance is rapid—his language fluent—his ideas ready—his imagery copious and striking. He is fond of walking up and down the room with his interlocutor; varying his pace with the varying current of his ideas. He speaks, I think, more than he listens; presenting, in

this respect, the same contrast to our English statesmen that the French *initiative* plan of government bears to our cautious and merely *regulative* system."

M. Crémieux, the Minister of Justice, and said to be of the Jewish religion, is in his 47th year. Previously to the year 1830, he was the foremost advocate of the bar of Nismes; he purchased of Odillon Barrot the place of *Conseiller à la Cour de Cassation*; and for the last ten years he has been one of the most popular of the Parisian advocates. He is considered a wealthy man. On the discussion of the Game Law, which originated in the Chamber of Peers, he demanded the suppression of the article exempting the crown lands from the provisions of that enactment; but, although he succeeded in the Lower Chamber, the Peers restored the clause. In his political career, M. Crémieux was a distinguished member of the Opposition.

Dominique François Arago, Minister of Marine, long known as one of the first astronomers of the age, and more recently as a fierce uncompromising Republican, was born at Estagel, near Perpignan, on the 26th of February, 1786. His scientific career has been most brilliant. In 1831, he was elected Deputy for Perpignan, and at once took his seat on the democratic bench. His political course has been distinguished by a succession of attacks on the Ministry, and by an unflinching support of republican principles. In a memorable visit of remonstrance which he paid to Louis Philippe on the events of June, 1832, he vehemently declared, that he "never would accept *any place whatsoever*, and that he meant immediately to quit political life and return altogether to the *studies which he perhaps ought never to have quitted*." But the asseverations of politicians, like those of lovers, are, in the great majority of instances, made to—*be broken!* The King, naturally enough, smiled at his declaration; Capefigue, the ablest historian of the last twenty years, remarks that, "in spite of these energetic professions, M. Arago seemed every day more and more to cling to political affairs; and he is seen *now*, not only in place—and in one of the first places—but he has two members of his family well provided for; a brother, as Postmaster-General; and a son, as Commissioner of the Provisional Government, at Lyons.

M. Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior, is an advocate now in his 47th year. He is an ultra-democrat of the ol

revolutionary school; earnest, hot-headed, extremely violent, and bitterly opposed to English interests. He has been much employed by the regicides and *émouliers*; was the professed representative of the Communist interest; and in the Chamber he strenuously supported the opinions advocated in *La Réforme* newspaper. As a Deputy, he was elected for Mons in the room of the late M. Garnier Pagès. His speech to the electors on that occasion subjected him to a Government prosecution, and the consequent trial produced a great sensation. During the summer of O'Connell's monster meetings, he paid a visit to Ireland, and was pointed out to the Irish populace at Tara as a delegate from the republicans of France. He has married, it is said, an Irish lady. On frequent occasions, M. Rollin has been the assailant, not only of Guizot, but also of the policy of the Thiers and Barrot section. To his audacity in the Chamber, on the 24th of February, may be in a great measure ascribed the formation of the Provisional Government.

M. Garnier Pagès, Mayor of Paris, and afterwards Minister of Finance, is the younger of two brothers by different fathers. The name of the elder was Garnier, that of the younger Pagès; which, it is said, "they combined into Garnier-Pagès, to give to two very common names an aristocratical air." The elder brother was a lawyer; and, making himself conspicuous by his republican opinions, he was returned to the Chamber of Deputies, where he took his seat on the 2nd of January, 1832—the same day that Carrel hoisted the republican flag in the *National* newspaper. He became one of the leaders of his party, and was arrested on the charge of having taken part in the events of June, 1832. He died, however, in 1843, and was succeeded, politically, by his younger brother, now one of the members of the Provisional Government. He is described as an agreeable and amiable man in private life.

M. Marie, another lawyer, and the Minister of Public Works, is 60 years old. His professional practice runs chiefly in the same channel as that of Ledru Rollin; but, though his political opinions are similar, he is far more moderate.

MM. Marrast, Louis Blanc, Flocon, and Albert were, in the first instance, appointed Secretaries to the Provisional Government; but they appear to have subsequently become actual members of that body.

Armand Marrast, the Editor of the *National*, the chief republican organ, first distinguished himself by a succession of bold and dashing articles in a paper called *La Tribune*. Afterwards he acquired additional notoriety by a libel charging Casimir Perier and Marshal Soult with having received large sums of money for conniving at a fraudulent contract, made by Gisquet, the Préfet of Police, for muskets. For that libel Marrast was sentenced to a fine to the amount of £120 sterling, and an imprisonment of six months. Gisquet, it may be remembered, was afterwards convicted of scandalous corruption in his official capacity. Marrast, though he married an English lady, is strongly opposed to our aristocratic institutions and form of government.

Louis Blanc, one of the enthusiastic visionaries of the age, and, in the Provisional Government, designated Minister of Labour, is of Corsican origin, his mother having been sister to Count Pozzo di Borgo, the celebrated diplomatist. He was born at Madrid, in 1813. "His figure," says Kelly, whose book has already been more than once mentioned, "is that of a boy of twelve, while his limbs and face are undeveloped and childish, and his voice possesses that falsetto squeak which usually marks the age of transition from boyhood to adolescence. These peculiarities place him at an immense disadvantage as a public speaker; and yet such is his eloquence, his lucidity, and fine conception, that his harangues are generally listened to with pleasure." "He was remarkable at college for his great natural talents and perseverance in study; and, from its having become a thing understood in the family that he was to pursue the same career for which his uncle had obtained so much power and influence, his attention had been early directed to the study of history and the art of government." This accounts for the nature of Louis Blanc's literary pursuits. His dwarfish figure and child-like appearance, however, proved insurmountable obstacles to his diplomatic progress, and at an early period he relinquished the idea in disgust.

Louis Blanc's first literary performance is understood to have been on the *Organization of Labour*, the pervading principle of which is, that competition in trade or labour is the abasement and ruin of society, and that the only remedy is in the principle of *association*, both in work and profits. Or, in the words of Michel Chevalier, a contemporary writer on political economy, "Louis Blanc's organization of labour

consists of the following innovations:—1st, The suppression of competition; 2nd, After a period of transition, perfect equality for all, without taking into account the skill and activity of each; 3rd, The abolition of all profits of capital, beyond legal interest; 4th, The election, by the rank and file, of the commanding and subaltern officers of the industrial works." The absurdity and impracticability of Louis Blanc's theory have been completely exploded by the experiments which have been made since the formation of the Provisional Government.

Louis Blanc's more celebrated performance is his *Histoire de Dix Ans*, which is, in fact, a key to all the *émeutes* from 1830 to 1840, and a prophetic explanation of the recent catastrophe. "It is," observes a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, "the history of republicanism in France during the reign of Louis Philippe, with the fullest nomenclature and account of its apostles and martyrs; and when at last the Republic was to be proclaimed, here was the muster—all of those who had fought the battle and were entitled to the spoils—the saints of the new republican rubric." It is written with great malignity, and frequently with great falsehood, against Louis Philippe and all—particularly his Conservative—ministers, and, of course, accuses them of duplicity, treachery, violation of the Charter, and so forth; but at the same time it proves, step by step, that the republican conspirators from the first hour—and latterly the Communists—were at work to overthrow both the monarch and the monarchy! Nor was it against these alone that his batteries were levelled. "*Down with the Aristocracy of the Middle Classes!*" may be regarded as his text. The destruction of the *bourgeoisie* seems to be the object nearest his heart.

Louis Blanc has long been connected with *La Réforme*, a paper which has advocated, not *reform* merely, but *revolution* in its widest extent.

Ferdinand Flocon, the Editor of *La Réforme*, is another ultra-democrat and socialist, embracing the views of Louis Blanc with reference to capital and labour. He was implicated in several of the republican *émeutes* of the reign of Louis Philippe, and has suffered much, by fine and imprisonment, for seditious libels.

Albert, described as an *ouvrier*, or *workman*, is said to be a wealthy man, and identical with the M. Albert, the chief agitator of Lyons in the spring of 1834.

The following extract from a letter by the Paris correspondent, dated on the 17th of April, of the *Literary Gazette*, throws additional and very curious light on these subjects:—

“Before the Revolution of February, the republican or radical party in France was divided in two factions; clearly defined and represented by two papers, the *National* and the *Réforme*. One faction, that of the *National*, much more numerous than the other, comprised all honest, intelligent, and moderate Republicans; the other, represented by the *Réforme*, was recruited amongst fanatic radicals, poor in mental resources, and not over nice. M. Armand Marrast headed the first party; the second had for its chief director, or rather for paymaster, M. Ledru Rollin; and for sub-director, aspiring to supplant his chief, M. Louis Blanc. The first would have remained satisfied with Reform—the latter exacted more than a Revolution, they wanted a thorough social reconstruction.

“After the overthrow of the Monarchy of Louis Philippe, these two factions of the Republican party shared the power amongst themselves, leaving the question of contest for the whole of it open for later times. Of the eleven members of the Provisional Government, seven men were more or less remotely connected with the party of the *National*, four only belonged to the party represented by the *Réforme*. On the one hand we had MM. Lamartine, Arago, Armand Marrast, Garnier Pagès, Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, and Crémieux; on the other side, Ledru Rollin and Flocon, Louis Blanc and Albert.

“Hence two contrary tendencies in the Government of the Republic; hence between the majority and the minority a continued and half-suppressed struggle, to which the papers of all denominations studiously avoided any allusion, but which soon revealed its existence to the justly alarmed public by its deplorable effects.

“The first party have on their side the immense majority of the nation. The minority, on the contrary, is subdivided in two further factions, which have for chiefs Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, MM. Flocon and Albert being—forgive the expression—but dogs following in the wake of their masters. This party is supported by an almost imperceptible minority, but the more insolent and audacious that it feels its weakness. For these men Right is an empty word. They strive to destroy every thing in existence,

even property and families, in order to *organize Anarchy*, if these two words do not clash too disagreeably in this juxtaposition—*s'ils ne hurlent pas*, as it is said. The Republic, say these men, is but a means; Socialism is the goal. Socialism, that is, a system brutalizing and enslaving the human species for the benefit of a few tyrants. However, the socialism of M. Ledru Rollin differs essentially from the socialism of M. Louis Blanc. If by some unfortunate accident they triumphed together, they would, the day after their victory, do battle in the most virulent fashion. Behind them, and out of the pale of Government, are arrayed other Utopian, other intriguing, ambitious schemers, also divided among themselves, but coalesced together at this moment against the majority: that Blanqui, the *mouchard*, the informer of the police of Louis Philippe, who, albeit unmasked by the *Revue Rétrospective*, has had the assurance to publish and sell in the streets an impudent pamphlet, which he dubs his "Justification;" Cabet, who is not even a madman, but merely a fool; a man named Thoré; and, I am sorry to add, Pierre Leroux and Georges Sand. Georges Sand—who publishes an *abominable* review under the title of *La Cause du Peuple*, and who writes the anonymous articles of the *Bulletin de la République*, a sort of advertising sheet, not periodical, which the Minister of the Interior, M. Ledru Rollin, sends to all the Communes of France,—Georges Sand herself consented to give the signal of pillage and massacre, while pretending to protest against the use of such means."

SECTION VIII.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Decree for the Election of Members.—Circular to Foreign Courts.—Deputations.—Unauthorized Act of M. Ledru Rollin.—Scene in the Hall.—Revolt of the National Guards.—Blanqui's Plot to subvert the Government.—Grand Fête of Fraternity.—Commencement of the Elections.—Composition of the National Assembly.—Imposing Demonstration on the Meeting of that Body.—Senatorial Costume.—Election of President, &c.

ONE of the earliest and most objectionable acts of the Provisional Government was the appointment of M. Barbès to

the colonelcy of the 12th Legion of the National Guard, and to the governorship of the Luxembourg. This man was at the head of the Republican insurrection of May 12th, 1839, in which many lives were uselessly lost. He was condemned to death, but spared by the clemency of Louis Philippe.

On the 5th of March, 1848, an important decree was issued, regulating the mode of electing members for the proposed National Assembly. Numbers are to form the only basis of national representation. Assuming the population of France to be 36,000,000, it is calculated that, by making the number of representatives amount to 900 (including those for Algeria and the Colonies), there will be one representative for 40,000 souls. The following are the principal articles:—The suffrage shall be direct and universal. All Frenchmen, twenty-one years of age, having resided in the district during six months, and not judicially deprived of or suspended in the exercise of their civic rights, are electors. All Frenchmen, twenty-five years of age, and not judicially deprived of or suspended in the exercise of their civic rights are eligible. The ballot shall be secret. No man can be named a representative of the people unless he obtain 2000 suffrages. Every representative of the people shall receive an indemnity of 25 francs per day during the session.

The time of holding the elections was appointed for the 9th of April, but afterwards fixed for the 23rd and 24th.

A Circular of the same date as the above-mentioned Decree (March 5) was issued by Lamartine, in his capacity of Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the diplomatic agents of the French Republic. In this vague and declamatory document, intended, it is said, to be eminently pacific—aiming at philosophical conception and lofty thought—Lamartine seems perpetually vacillating between his desire to propitiate the Courts of Europe, and his wish to gratify the inordinate vanity of the French people. The Republican Government, he asserts, does not desire war, yet he says, "it will be fortunate for France should war be declared against it, and the nation be constrained thus to increase in strength and in glory, in spite of its moderation. Other nations grow in strength during peace, but France is *sure to acquire strength during war.*" In the same spirit he announces, that the treaties of 1815 are at an end; yet he

says the Provisional Government is ready to accept the territorial settlement of those treaties as a state of facts from which the Republic is willing to commence its relations with other powers.

Deputations poured in upon the Provisional Government from Poles, Italians, Belgians, and others, and, amongst them, one from the English Chartists, and another from the Irish Confederation of rebels, to congratulate France on her republican achievement. To the last of these, headed by Smith O'Brien, M.P., M. Lamartine delivered a long reply, repellent of their request of military aid.

By the publication of a Circular of Instructions to the Commissioners who had been sent to complete the work of revolution in the departments, M. Ledru Rollin raised a storm of dissatisfaction against the Provisional Government. By the Circular referred to, he invested those Commissioners with unlimited powers, even to the calling out of the military force; and instructing them, in regard to the elections to let the order of the day be, "New men, and, as much as possible, from the ranks of the people." Lamartine disavowed this instrument, on the part of the Government, and it was decreed that, in future, no official proclamations should be issued on the exclusive authority of any individual minister. Rollin felt much annoyed by this decision. Shortly afterwards (March the 15th), a projected measure of his having been opposed by his colleagues, he threatened that, should his proposition not be agreed to, he would call in the mob and enforce acquiescence. M. Garnier Pagès instantly arose, drew a pistol from his pocket, and declared that, should M. Ledru Rollin attempt to carry his threat into execution, he would shoot him through the head. The refractory member was silenced.

About the same time, an open revolt of the National Guard took place in consequence of a decree for abolishing their picked companies and fusing them with the general mass. Fortunately a compromise was effected.

Passing a host of minor events, Sunday, the 16th of April, arrived; on which day an attempt was made to overthrow the moderate party of the Government, and establish a *soi-disant* "Committee of Safety." The plot was headed by Blanqui, a man who had been a conspirator all his life, and who, since the month of February, had been President of the Central Republican Club, one of the most violent of the

revolutionary societies. However, by the prompt and cordial support given to the cause of order by the National Gaards, the scheme was defeated without a blow.

On the 20th of April, a grand fête of fraternity was held, to celebrate the return of the troops of the line to Paris.

The elections commenced on Sunday, the 23rd of April; and the first meeting of the National Assembly took place on Thursday, the 4th of May. The calculations of the composition of the Assembly formed on the eve of its meeting were that the Ultra-Democrats would not number above 100; that the adherents of royalty, comprising those favourable to legitimacy and to the Orleans family, would number 300; and that the Moderate Republicans would amount to 500. A greater number of Legitimists was elected in the provinces than had been anticipated. One classification of the returns is as follows:—"I must premise, however, that, the returns for Algiers and the colonies not being yet known, the subjoined summary falls short of the complete number by about 70. It affords, however, sufficient grounds to supply some idea of the composition of the body from which the constitution of France is to issue:—

Members of the late Chamber	129
The Bar and the Bench	111
The Church	11
Medicine	17
Working class	34
Commerce and Finance	38
Army and Navy	38
Municipal Officers	39
Government Commissaries and other Employés	63
Literature and the Press	31
Agriculture	16
Engineers	8
Proprietors	50
Unknown	245

Thus something more than a fourth of the late Chamber reappears in the Assembly. The bar and the bench supply about eight per cent. of it. Commerce and finance something more than four per cent. The army and navy the same. Government commissaries and employés about seven per cent. Working class less than four per cent. Literature and the press still less. Proprietors about six per cent., and unknown about twenty-seven per cent."

On the day of meeting, a grand theatrical ceremony was improvised; namely, the public proclamation of the Republic by the Assembly and the Provisional Government. Agreeably to the motion of General Courtais, the Provisional Government and the new representatives of the people proceeded to the portico of the palace of the National Assembly. The proceedings on the outside of the palace are thus described, in one of the journals of the day, by an eye-witness :—

“ Were the most theatrical people in the world to choose a position for an exhibition of the kind that met the eye of the observer on reaching the bridge, the portico, and the immense flight of steps—the most extensive perhaps in Europe—leading to the palace, would be that selected. Imagine the whole of the quays at each side of the bridge and on each side the river crammed with people and National Guards mixed irregularly. Within the railing the National Guards and staff officers filled the space that lies between it and the first steps. Above were the members of the Provisional Government, and beside them, and filling the whole of the flight of steps beneath them, the 600 or 700 members of the Assembly. Every man of them could be distinctly seen by every spectator from the Pont Royal on the one side, and the Pont des Invalides on the other, and from the Church of the Madeleine in front, if human vision could reach the distance. The scene that presented itself defies description. The colours of the National Guards had been brought within the railing by the time that I arrived. Something was wanting but it was soon forthcoming. ‘The colours of the army’ were called for in voices of thunder. They were brought forward, and then recommenced the proclamation of the Republic, the acceptance of it, and the fraternization of the 20th of April; but it would seem that the enthusiasm surpassed that observable on the day just mentioned, and it was stimulated by the thunder of the cannon of the Invalides. The Republic was proclaimed and accepted unequivocally by the National Assembly, in the presence of 200,000 of the people of Paris.”

A proclamation of the Republic by the Assembly was afterwards posted all over Paris.

Previously to the meeting of the Assembly, the following decree, regarding the costume of its members, had been is-

sued by the Provisional Government ; but the proposed regulation was not honoured with much attention :—

“The representatives of the people shall wear a black coat, a white waistcoat with lappels, black pantaloons, and a tricoloured silk scarf, ornamented with gold fringe. They shall attach to the button-hole on the left side of their coat a red riband, on which shall be embroidered the fasces of the Republic.”

On the following day (May 5) two candidates for the office of President were brought forward—M. Buchez on the part of the Moderates, and M. Trélat on the part of the Exaltés ; and, notwithstanding some violent attempts made by M. Barbès, M. Etienne Arago, and others to carry the election of their candidate by intimidating their adversaries, the election of M. Buchez was carried by a large majority.

Their first task of importance was to prepare a draft of the intended new Constitution ; and for this purpose a Committee was appointed.

An Executive Committee of Five has also been elected :—Arago, 725 votes ; Garnier Pagès, 715 ; Marie, 702 ; Lammartine, 643 ; Lédru Rollin, 458.

New Ministry appointed by the Executive Committee :—Bastide, Foreign Affairs ; Favre, Under Secretary, ditto ; Recurt, Interior ; Cartaret, Under Secretary, ditto ; Duclerc, Finance ; Colonel Charras, War, *ad interim* ; Admiral Cazy, Marine ; Trélat, Public Works ; Crémieux, Justice ; Bethmont, Public Worship ; Carnot, Public Instruction ; Jean Reynaud, Under Secretary, ditto ; Flocon, Commerce ; Marrast, Mayor of Paris ; Caussidier, Prefect of Police ; Pagnerre, Secretary of the Executive Government.

FINIS.



